

# Travels in North America

BRISSOT DE WARVILLE

M. DE CHASTELLUX

S. O. FERRALL

385  
1919

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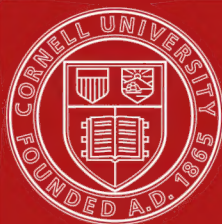
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New Travels  
IN THE  
United States of America

By  
J. P. Brissot DeWarville

Great American  
Historical Classics Series

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## Introduction to Present Edition

"New Travels in the United States" is without doubt one of the most remarkable human interest documents dealing with the period of which it treats, ever written. Unfortunately, the author did not live to realize the results for which he strove—the birth of a new France.

He visited America to study the people and conditions of a new country which had so valiently gained her independence; to report upon her social, political, and economic conditions; and he makes the declaration that "A people without morals may acquire liberty, but without morals, they cannot preserve it." He believed the United States possessed the morals to preserve liberty.

The author's rather long preface is a document worthy of careful reading, and while in republishing the work the preliminary letters dealing with matters before he starts his real travels in the United States, might have been omitted, this would have destroyed the effect of the complete work.

One biographer says, Jean Pierre Brissot, who assumed the name De Warville, a celebrated Girondist, was born of humble parents at Chartres in January, 1754. He received a good education, and entered the office of a lawyer at Paris. His first works, *Theorie des Lois Criminelles* (1781) and *Bibliotheque Philosophique du Legislateur* (1782), were on the philosophy of law, and showed how thoroughly Brissot was imbued with the ethical precepts of Rousseau. He paid a visit to the United States, and returned just at the outbreak of the Revolution. Into this great movement Brissot threw himself heart and soul. He edited the *Patriote Francais*, and being a well informed,



capable man, soon began to take a prominent part in affairs. In the national assembly he leagued himself with the party, well-known in history as the Girondists, but then frequently called the Brissotins. Of this party he was in many respects the ruling spirit. Vergniaud certainly was far superior to him in oratory, but Brissot was quick, eager, impetuous, and a man of wide knowledge. But he was at the same time timid and not qualified to struggle against the fierce energies roused by the events of the Revolution. His party fell before the "Mountain"; sentence or arrest was passed against the leading members of it on June 2, 1793.

Brissot, persuaded by his friends, attempted to escape in disguise, but was arrested at Moulins. His demeanor at the trial was quiet and dignified, and on October 31, 1793, he died bravely with his comrades.

Girondists (Fr. Girondins) was the name given during the French revolution to the moderate Republican party. When the Legislative Assembly met in October, 1791, the Gironde department chose for its representatives Vergniaud, Gaudet, Gensonne, Grangeneuve, and Ducos, all of whom soon acquired great influence by their rhetorical talents and political principles.

They were joined by Brissot's party and the adherents of Roland as well as by several leaders of the Center, such as Condorcet, Fauchet, Lasource, Isnard, and Henri La Riviere, and for some time had a parliamentary majority. From this nucleus grew the so-called Girondist party, which for a time exerted a powerful influence in the Revolution, but which came to an unfortunate end, nearly all the leaders being guillotined.

The advance of the Austrian and Prussian invaders threw the influence into the hands of the Jacobins, who alone possessed vigor enough to "save the Revolution."

The great emeute of the 10th of August finally assured their triumph, which vented itself in such infamies as the September massacres. Next followed the National Convention and the trial of the king. The Girondists tried to save the king's life by appealing to the sovereign people.

The fall of Roland and the ascending of Robespierre followed. Dumouriez, to save his head, rode over into the Austrian camp, and the famous committee of public safety was created. Of its members not one was a Girondist. The last effort of the party was an ineffectual attempt to impeach Marat, who, however, on the 2nd of July overthrew the party, arresting as many as thirty-one deputies. The majority had already escaped to the provinces. In the departments of Eure, Calvados, all through Brittany, and at Bordeaux and elsewhere in the southwest the people rose in their defense, but the movement was soon crushed by the irresistible energy of the Mountain, now triumphant in the convention.

M. Brissot de Warville, in 1788, formed a society of "Friends of the Blacks," and to study the conditions of the negro in America was one of the objects of his visits to America.





# New Travels

in the

# United States of America

Performed in 1788

By J. P. Brissot DeWarville

Translated from the French

By an Englishman

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A People without Morale may acquire Liberty,  
but without Morals they cannot preserve it.

Nemo illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere, nec  
corrumpi feculum vocatur . . . . .

Plusquam ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi  
bonae leges Tacitus

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Printed in 1792



## PREFACE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

No traveller, I believe, of this age, has made a more useful present to Europe than M. de Warville in the publication of the following tour in the United States. The people of France will derive great advantages from it; as they have done from a variety of other labours of the same industrious and patriotic author. Their minds are now open to enquiry into the effects of moral and political systems, as their commerce and manufactures are to any improvements that their unembarrassed situation enables them to adopt.

Many people read a little in the preface before they buy the book; and I shall probably be accused of being in the interest of the bookseller, and of making an assertion merely to catch this sort of readers when I say that the English have more need of information on the real character and condition of the United States of America, than any other people of Europe; and especially when I add that this book is infinitely better calculated to convey that information than any other, or than all others of the kind that have hitherto appeared.

I do not know how to convince an English reader of the first of these remarks; but the latter I am sure he will find true on perusing the work.

The fact is, we have always been surprisingly ignorant both of the Americans and of their country. Had we known either the one or the other while they were colonies, they would have been so at this day, and probably for many days longer; did we know them now, we should endeavor



to draw that advantage from them that the natural and advantitious circumstances of the two countries would indicate to reasonable men. There is no spot on the globe, out of England, so interesting for us to study under all its connections and relations as the territory of the United States. Could we barter all the Canadas and Nova Scotias, with all their modifications and subdivisions, for such an amicable intercourse as might have been established with that people since the close of the war, we should have every reason to rejoice in the change.

Ministers, as wicked as they are, do more mischief through ignorance, than from any less pardonable cause. And what are the sources of information on this subject, that are generally drawn from this kingdom? Those Americans, who best know their own country, do not write; they have always been occupied in more important affairs. A few light superficial travelers, some of whom never appear to have quitted Europe, who have not knowledge enough even to begin to enquire after knowledge; a few ministerial governors of royal provinces, whose business it always was to give false information; such are the men whose errors have been uniformly copied by succeeding writers, systematized by philosophers, and acted out by politicians.

These blunders assume different shapes, and come recommended to us under various authorities. You see them mustered and embodied in a gazetteer or a geographical grammar marching in the splendid retinue of all the sciences in the encyclopedia; you find them by regiments pressed into the service of De Paw, tortured into discipline and taught to move to the music of Raynal, and then mounted among the heavy armed cavalry of Robertson. Under such able commanders who could doubt of their doing execution? Indeed their operations have been too

fatal to us. Our false ideas of the Americans have done us more injury, even since the war, than twenty Russian or Spanish armaments. But the evil still continues; and every day lessens the opportunity of profiting from their acquaintance.

We have refused, ever since the war, to compliment them with an envoy; we have employed, to take care of our consular interests, and represent the epitomized majesty of the British nation, an American royalist, who could be recommended to us only for his stupidity, and to them only for his suspected perfidy to their cause.

The book that bears the name of Lord Sheffield on the American trade, has served as the touchstone, the statesman's confession of faith, relative to our political and commercial intercourse with that country. It is said to have been written by an American who had left his country in disgrace, and therefore intended to write against it. And the book really has this appearance; it has passed for a long time in England as a most patriotic and useful performance; it has taught us to despise the Americans in peace and commerce, as the work of other men of this caste had before told us to do in war and politics. The details in it, furnished by the clerks of the custom-house, are doubtless accurate, though of little consequence, but the reasoning is uniformly wrong, the predictions are all false, and the conclusions which he draws, and which, of course, were to serve as advice to the government, are calculated to flatter our vanity, to confirm us in our errors, and mislead us in our conduct. Had the ablest sophist in Europe been employed to write a book professedly against Great Britain and in favor of America, he could not have succeeded so well. It persuaded us to refuse any kind of commercial treaty with them, which forced them to learn a lesson, of which they might otherwise have been ignorant

for half a century. That after beating our armies they could rival our manufactories; that they could do without us much better than we could without them.

M. de Warville has taught his countrymen to think very differently of that people. I believe every reader of these travels, who understands enough of America to enable him to judge, will agree with me in opinion, that his remarks are infinitely more judicious, more candid, and less erroneous than those of any other of the numerous observers that have visited that country. Most of them have been uniformly superficial, often scurrilous, blending unmerited censure with fulsome praise, and huddling together, to form the whole piece, a parcel of unfinished images, that give no more a picture of that people, than of the Arabs or the Chinese. Their only object, like that of a novel writer, is to make a book that will sell; and yet they preserve not even that consistency with themselves, which is indispensable in the wildest romance.

M. de Warville is a sober, uniform, indefatigable, and courageous defender of the rights of mankind; he has certainly done much in his own country in bringing forward the present revolution. His great object in these travels seems to have been to observe the effects of habitual liberty on man in society; and his remarks appear to be those of a well-informed reasoner, and an unprejudiced inquirer. London, February 1, 1792.



## PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

The publication of *Voyages and Travels* will doubtless appear, at first view, an operation foreign to the present circumstances of France. I should even myself regret the time I have spent in reducing this work to order, if I did not think that it might be useful and necessary in supporting our revolution. The object of these travels was not to study antiques, or to search for unknown plants, but to study men who had just acquired their liberty. A free people can no longer be strangers to the French.

We have now, likewise, acquired our liberty. It is no longer necessary to learn of the Americans the manner of acquiring it, but we must be taught by them the secret of preserving it. This secret consists in the morals of the people; the Americans have it; and I see with grief, not only that we do not yet possess it, but that we are not even thoroughly persuaded of its absolute necessity in the preservation of liberty. This is an important point; it involves the salvation of the revolution, and therefore merits a close examination.

What is liberty? It is the most perfect state of society; it is the state in which man depends (but) upon the laws which he makes; in which, to make them good, he ought to perfect the powers of his mind; in which, to execute them well, he must employ all his reason; for coercive measures are disgraceful to free men—they are almost useless in a free State; and when the magistrate calls them to his aid, liberty is on the decline, morals are nothing more than reason applied to all the actions of life; in their force consists

the execution of the laws. Reason or morals are to the execution of the laws among a free people, what fetters, scourges, and gibbets are among slaves. Destroy morals, or practical reason, and you must supply their place by fetters and scourges, or else society will no longer be but a state of war, a scene of deplorable anarchy, to be terminated by its destruction.

Without morals there can be no liberty. If you have not the former, you cannot love the latter, and you will soon take it away from others; for if you abandon yourself to luxury, to ostentation, to excessive gaming, to enormous expenses, you necessarily open your heart to corruption; you make a traffic of your popularity, and of your talents; you sell the people to that despotism which is always endeavoring to replunge them into its chains.

Some men endeavor to distinguish public from private morals; it is a false and chimerical distinction, invented by vice, in order to disguise its danger. Doubtless a man may possess the private virtues without the public; he may be a good father, without being an ardent friend of liberty; but he that has not the private virtues, can never possess the public; in this respect they are inseparable; their basis is the same, it is practical reason. What! within the walls of your house, you trample reason under foot; and do you respect it abroad, in your intercourse with your fellow-citizens? He that respects not reason in the lonely presence of his household gods, can have no sincere attachment to it at all; and his apparent veneration to the law is but the effect of fear, or the grimace of hypocrisy. Place him out of danger from the public force, his fears vanish, and his vice appears. Besides, the hypocrisy of public virtue entrains another evil; it spreads a dangerous snare to liberty over the abyss of despotism.

What confidence can be placed in those men who, regarding the revolution but as their road to fortune, assume the appearance of virtue but to deceive the people; who deceive the people but to pillage and enslave them; who, in their artful discourses, where eloquence is paid with gold, preach to others the sacrifice of private interest, while they themselves sacrifice all that is sacred to their own? men whose private conduct is the assassin of virtue, an opprobrium to liberty, and gives the lie to the doctrines which they preach:

*Qui Curius simulant, et bacchanalia vivunt.*

Happy the people who despise this hypocrisy, who have the courage to degrade, to chastise, to excommunicate these double men, possessing the tongue of Cato, and the soul of Tiberius. Happy the people who, well convinced that liberty is not supported by eloquence, but by the exercise of virtue, esteem not, but rather despise, the former, when it is separated from the latter. Such a people, by their severe opinions, compel men of talents to acquire morals; they exclude corruption from their body, and lay the foundation for liberty and long prosperity.

But if this people, improvident and irresolute, dazzled by the eloquence of an orator who flatters their passions, pardon his vices in favor of his talents; if they feel not an indignation at seeing an Alcibiades training a mantle of purple, lavishing his sumptuous repasts, lolling on the bosom of his mistress, or ravishing a wife from her tender husband; if the view of his enormous wealth, his exterior graces, the soft sound of his speech, and his traits of courage, could reconcile them to his crimes; if they could render him the homage which is due only to talents united with virtue; if they could lavish upon him praises, places, and honours; then it is that this people discover the full measure of their weakness, their irresolution, and their

own proper corruption; they become their own executioners; and the time is not distant, when they will be ready to be sold, by their own Alcibiades, to the great king, and to his satraps.

It is an ideal picture which I here trace, or, is it not ours? I tremble at the resemblance. Great God! shall we have achieved a revolution the most inconceivable, the most unexpected, but for the sake of drawing from nihilism a few intriguing, low, ambitious men, to whom nothing is sacred, who have not even the mouth of gold to accompany their soul of clay? Infamous wretches! they endeavor to excuse their weakness, their venality, their eternal capitulations with despotism, by saying, these people are too much corrupted to be trusted with complete liberty. They themselves give them the example of corruption; they give them new shackles, as if shackles could enlighten and ameliorate men.

O Providence! to what destiny reservest thou the people of France? They are good, but they are flexible; they are credulous, they are enthusiastic; they are easily deceived. How often, in their infatuation, have they applauded secret traitors, who have advised them to the most perfidious measures! Infatuation announces either a people whose aged weakness indicates approaching dissolution, or an infant people, or a mechanical people, a people not yet ripe for liberty; for the man of liberty is by nature a man of reason; he is rational in his applauses, he is sparing in his admiration, if, indeed, he ever indulges this passion; he never profanes these effusions, by lavishing them on men who dishonor themselves. A people degraded to this degree, are ready to caress the gilded chains that may be offered them. Behold the people of England dragging in the dirt that parliament to whom they owed their lib-

erty, and crowning with laurels the infamous head of Monk, who sold them to a new tyrant.

I have scrutinized those men, by whom the people are so easily infatuated. How few patriots was I able to number among them! How few men, who sincerely love the people, who labor for their happiness and amelioration, without regard to their personal interest! These true friends, these real brothers of the people, are not to be found in those infamous gambling houses, where the representatives sport with the blood of their fellow citizens; they are not found among those vile courtizans who, preserving their disposition, have only changed their mask; they are not found among those patriots of a day, who, while they are preaching the rights of man, are gravely occupied with a gilded phaeton, or an embroidered vest. The man of this frivolous taste has never descended into those profound meditations, which make of humanity, and the exercise of reason, a constant pleasure and a daily duty. The simplicity of wants and of pleasures, may be taken as a sure sign of patriotism. He that has few wants, has never that of selling himself; while the citizen, who has the rage of ostentation, the fury of gambling, and of expensive frivolities, is always to be sold to the highest bidder; and every thing around him betrays his corruption.

Would you prove to me your patriotism? Let me penetrate into the interior of your house. What! I see your antichamber full of insolent lackies, who regard me with disdain, because I am like *Curius*, *incomptis capillis*; they address you with the appellation of lordship; they give you still those vain titles which liberty treads under foot, and you suffer it, and you call yourself a patriot!—I penetrate a little further: your ceilings are gilded; magnificent vases adorn your chimney pieces; I walk upon the richest carpets; the most costly wines, the most exquisite dishes,

cover your table; a crowd of servants surround it; you treat them with haughtiness—No, you are not a patriot, the most consummate pride reigns in your heart, the pride of birth, of riches, and of talents. With this triple pride, a man never believes in the doctrine of equality; you belie your conscience, when you prostitute the word patriot.

But whence comes this display of wealth? you are not rich. Is it from the people? they are still poor. Who will prove to me that it is not the price of their blood? Who will assure me that there is not this moment existing, a secret contract between you and the court? Who will assure me that you have not said to the court, Trust to me the power which remains to you, and I will bring back the people to your feet; I will attach them to your car; I will enchain the tongues and pens of those independent men who brave you. A people may sometimes be subjugated without the aid of bastilles.

I do not know if so many pictures as every day strike our eyes, will convince us of the extreme difficulty of connecting public incorruptibility with corruption of morals; but I am convinced, that if we wish to preserve our constitution, it will be easy, it will be necessary, to demonstrate this maxim: "Without private virtue, there can be no public virtue, no public spirit, no liberty."

But how can we create private virtue among a people who have just risen suddenly from the dregs of servitude, dregs which have been settling for twelve centuries on their heads?

Numerous means offer themselves to our hands; laws, instruction, good examples, education, encouragement to a rural life, parceling of real property among heirs, respect to the useful arts.

Is it not evident, for instance, that private morals associate naturally with a rural life; that, of consequence,

manners would much improve, by inducing men to return from the city to the country, and by discouraging them from migrating from the country to the city? The reason why the Americans possess such pure morals is because nine-tenths of them live dispersed in the country. I do not say that we should make laws direct to force people to quit the town, or to fix their limits; all prohibition, all restraint, is unjust, absurd, and ineffectual. Do you wish a person to do well? make it for his interest to do it. Would you re-people the country? make it his interest to keep his children at home. Wise laws and taxes well distributed will produce this effect. Laws which tend to an equal distribution of real property, to diffuse a certain degree of ease among the people, will contribute much to the resurrection of private and public morals; for misery can take no interest in the public good, and want is often the limit of virtue.

Would you extend public spirit through all France? Into all the departments, all the villages, favor the propagation of knowledge, the low price of books and of newspapers. How rapidly would the revolution consolidate, if the government had the wisdom to frank the public papers from the expense of postage! It has often been repeated, that three or four millions of livres expended in this way, would prevent a great number of disorders which ignorance may countenance or commit; and the reparation of which costs many more millions. The communication of knowledge would accelerate a number of useful undertakings, which greatly diffuse public prosperity.

I will still propose another law, which would infallibly extend public spirit and good morals; it is the short duration of public functioners in their office, and the impossibility of re-electing them without an interval. By that the legislative body would send out every two years, into

the provinces, three or four hundred patriots, who, during their abode at Paris, would have arisen to the horizon of the revolution, and obtained instruction, activity in business, and a public spirit. The commonwealth, better understood, would become thus successively the business of all; and it is thus that you would repair the defect with which representative republics are reproached, that the commonwealth is the business of but few.

I cannot enlarge upon all the means; but it would be rendering a great service to the revolution, to seek and point out those which may give us morals and public spirit.

Yet I cannot leave this subject without indulging one reflection, which appears to me important; Liberty, either political or individual, cannot exist a long time without personal independence. There can be no independence without a property, a profession, a trade, or an honest industry, which may insure against want and dependence.

I assure you that the Americans are and will be for a long time free; it is because nine-tenths of them live by agriculture; and when there shall be five hundred millions of men in America, all may be proprietors.

We are not in that happy situation in France; the productive lands in France amount to fifty millions of acres; this, equally divided, would be two acres to a person; these two acres would not be sufficient for his subsistence; the nature of things calls a great number of the French to live in cities. Commerce, the mechanic arts, and divers kinds of industry procure there, subsistence to the inhabitants; for we must not count much at present on the produce of public offices. Salaries indemnify, but do not enrich; neither do they insure against future want. A man who should speculate upon salaries for a living, would only be the slave of the people, or of foreign powers; every man, therefore, who wishes sincerely to be free, ought to exer-



cise some art or trade. At this word trade, the patriots still shiver; they begin to pay some respect to commerce; but though they pretend to cherish equality, they do not feel themselves frankly the equals of a mechanic. They have not yet abjured the prejudice which regards the tradesman, as below the banker or the merchant. This vulgar aristocracy will be the most difficult to destroy.

It extends even to officers chosen by the people. With what disdain they regard an artisan from head to foot. With what severity many of our national guards treat those wretches who are arrested by them. With what insolence they execute their orders:—Observe the greater part of the public officers. They are as haughty in the exercise of their functions as they were grovelling in the primary assemblies. A true patriot is equal at all times; equally distant from baseness at elections, and insolence in office.

If you wish to honor the mechanic arts, give instruction to those who exercise them; choose among them the best instructed, and advance them in public employments; and disdain not to confer upon them distinguished places in the assemblies.

I regret that the national assembly has not yet given this salutary example; that they have not yet crowned the genius of agriculture, by calling to the president's chair the good cultivator, Gerard; that the merchants and other members of the assembly, who exercise mechanic arts, have not enjoyed the same honor. Why this exclusion? It is very well to insert in the Declaration of Rights, that all men are equal; but we must practise this equality, engrave it in our hearts, consecrate it in all our actions, and it belongs to the national assembly to give the great example. It would perhaps force the executive power to respect it likewise. Has he ever been known to descend into the class of professions, there to choose his ministers, his agents,

from men of simplicity of manners, not rich, but well instructed, and no courtézans?

Our democrats of the court praise indeed with a borrowed enthusiasm a Franklin or an Adams; they say, and even with a silly astonishment, that the one was a printer, and the other a schoolmaster! But, do they go to seek in the work-shops, the men of information? No. But what signifies at present the conduct of an administration, whose detestable foundation renders them antipopular, and consequently perverse? they can never appear virtuous, but by hypocrisy. To endeavor to convert them, is a folly; to oppose to them independent adversaries, is wisdom; the secret of independence is in this maxim, have few wants and a steady employment to satisfy them.

With these ideas man bends not his front before man. The artizan glories in his trade that supports him; he envies not places of honor; he knows he can attain them, if he deserves them; he idolizes no man; he respects himself too much to be an idolater; he esteems not men because they are in place, but because they deserve well from their country.

The leaders of the revolution in Holland, in the sixteenth century, seated on the grass at a repast of herrings and onions, received, with a stern simplicity, the deputies of the haughty Spaniard. This is the portrait of men who feel their dignity, and know the superiority of freemen over the slaves of kings.

Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent. When shall we have this elevated idea of ourselves? When will all the citizens look with disdain on those idols on whom they formerly prostituted their adoration? Indeed, when shall we experience a general diffusion of public spirit?

I have no uneasiness about the rising generation. The pure souls of our young men breathe nothing but liberty; the contagious breath of personal interest has not yet infected them. An education truly national, will create men surpassing the Greeks and Romans; but people advanced in life, accustomed to servitude, familiarized with the idolatry of the great—what will reclaim them? What will strip them of the old man? Instruction; and the best means of diffusing it, is to multiply popular clubs, where all those citizens so unjustly denominated passive, came to gain information on the principles of the Constitution, and on the political occurrences of every day. It is there that may be placed under the eyes of the people, the great examples of virtue furnished by ancient and modern history; it is there that detached parts of the work, which I now publish, may serve to shew my fellow-citizens the means of preserving their liberty.

O Frenchmen! who wish for this valuable instruction, study the Americans of the present day. Open this book; you will here see to what degree of prosperity the blessings of freedom can elevate the industry of man; how they dignify his nature, and dispose him to universal fraternity; you will here learn by what means liberty is preserved; that the great secret of its duration is in good morals. It is a truth that the observation of the present state of America demonstrates at every step. Thus you will see, in these Travels, the prodigious effects of liberty on morals, on industry, and on the amelioration of men. You will see those stern Presbyterians, who, on the first settlement of their country, infected with the gloomy superstitions of Europe, could erect gibbets for those who thought differently from themselves. You will see them admitting all sects to equal charity and brotherhood, rejecting those superstitions which, to adore the Supreme

Being, make martyrs of part of the human race. Thus you will see all the Americans, in whose minds the jealousy of the mother country had disseminated the most absurd prejudices against foreign nations, abjure those prejudices, reject every idea of war, and open the way to an universal confederation of the human race. You will see independent America contemplating no other limits but those of the universe, not other restraint but the laws made by her representatives. You will see them attempting all sorts of speculations; opening the fertile bosom of the soil, lately covered by forests; tracing unknown seas; establishing new communications, new markets; naturalizing, in their country, those precious manufactures which England had reserved to herself; and, by this accumulation of the means of industry, they change the balance that was formerly against America, and turn it to their advantage. You will see them faithful to their engagements, while their enemies are proclaiming their bankruptcy. You will see them invigorating their minds, and cultivating their virtues; reforming their government, employing only the language of reason to convince the refractory; multiplying everywhere moral institutions and patriotic establishments; and, above all, never separating the idea of public from private virtues. Such is the consoling picture, which these Travels will offer to the friend of liberty.

The reverse is not self consoling; if liberty is a sure guarantee of prosperity; if, in perfecting the talents of man, it gives him virtues, these virtues, in their turn, become the surest support of liberty. A people of universal good morals would have no need of government; the law would have no need of an executive power. This is the reason why liberty in America is safely carried to so high a degree that it borders on a state of nature, and why the government has so little force. This, by ignorant men, is

called anarchy; enlightened men, who have examined the effects on the spot, discern in it the excellence of the government; because, notwithstanding its weakness, society is there in a flourishing state. The prosperity of a society is always in proportion to the extent of liberty; liberty is in the inverse proportion to the extent of the governing power; the latter cannot increase itself, but at the expense of the former.

Can a people without government be happy? Yes, if you can suppose a whole people with good morals; and this is not a chimera. Will you see an example? Observe the Quakers of America. Though numerous, though dispersed over the surface of Pennsylvania, they have passed more than a century, without municipal government, without police, without coercive measures, to administer the State, or to govern the hospitals. And why? See the picture of their manners; you will there find the explanation of the phenomenon.

Coercive measures and liberty never go together; a free people hates the former; but if these measures are not employed, how will you execute the law? By the force of reason and good morals—take away these, and you must borrow the arm of violence, or fall into anarchy. If, then, a people wishes to banish the dishonorable means of coercion, they must exercise their reason, which will shew them the necessity of a constant respect for the law.

The exercise of this faculty produces among the Americans, a great number of men designated by the name of principled men. This appellation indicates the character of a class of men so little known among us, that they have not acquired a name. There will be one formed, I have no doubt; but, in the meantime, I see none but vibrating, vacillating beings, who do good by enthusiasm, and never by reflection. There can be no durable revolution, but

where reflection marks the operation, and matures the ideas. It is amongst those men of principle that you find the true heroes of humanity, the Howards, Fothergills, Penns, Franklins, Washingtons, Sidneys and Ludlows.

Shew me a man of this kind, whose wants are circumscribed, who admits no luxury, who has no secret passion, no ambition, but that of serving his country—a man who, as Montaigne says, aie des opinions supercelestes, sans avoir des mœurs souterreines—a man whom reflection guides in everything; this is the man of the people.

In a word, my countrymen, would you be always free, always independent in your elections, and in your opinions? Would you confine the executive power within narrow limits, and diminish the number of your laws?—have morals—in pessima republica plurimae leges. Morals supply perfectly, the necessity of laws; laws supply but imperfectly, and in a miserable manner, the place of morals. Would you augment your population, that chief wealth of nations? Would you augment the ease of individuals, industry, agriculture, and everything that contributes to general prosperity?—have morals!

Such is the double effect of morals in the United States, whose form of government still frightens pusillanimous and superstitious men. The portraits offered to view, in these Travels, will justify that republicanism which knaves calumniate with design, which ignorant men do not understand, but which they will learn to know and respect. How can we better judge of a government than by its effects? Reasoning\* may deceive; experience is always right. If liberty produces good morals, and diffuses information, why do freemen continue to carp at that kind of govern-

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\*If you would see excellent reasoning on this subject read the work just published by the celebrated Paine, entitled, Rights of Man; especially the miscellaneous chapter.

ment, which, being founded on the greatest degree of liberty, secures the greatest degree of prosperity?

I thought it very useful and very necessary to prove these principles from great examples; and this is my reason for publishing these Travels. Examples are more powerful than precepts. Morality, put in action, carries something of the dramatic, and the French love the drama.

This, then, is my first object; it is national, it is universal; for, when it is demonstrated that liberty creates morals, and morals, in their turn, extend and maintain liberty, it is evident, that to restrain the progress of liberty, is an execrable project; since it is to restrain the happiness, the prosperity, and the union of the human race.

A second object which guides me in this publication, is likewise national. I wish to describe to my countrymen a people with whom we ought, on every account, to connect ourselves in the most intimate manner.

If I had consulted what is called the Love of Glory, and the Spirit of Ancient Literature, I could have spent several years in polishing this work; but I believed, that, though necessary at present, it might be too late, and, perhaps useless, in a few years. We have arrived at the time when men of letters ought to study, above all things, to be useful; when they ought, for fear of losing time, to precipitate the propagation of truths, which the people ought to know; when, of consequence, we ought to occupy ourselves more in things than in words; when the care of style, and the perfection of taste, are but signs of a trifling vanity, and a literary aristocracy. Were Montesquieu to rise from the dead, he would surely blush at having laboured twenty years in making epigrams on laws; he would write for the people; for the revolution cannot be maintained but by the people, and by the people instructed; he would write, then,

directly and simply from his own soul, and not torment his ideas to render them brilliant.

When a man would travel usefully, he should study, first, men; secondly, books; and thirdly, places. To study men, he should see them of all classes, of all parties, of all ages, and in all situations.

I read in the Gazettes, that the ambassadors of Tippu Sultan were feasted by everybody; they were carried to the balls, to the spectacles, to the manufactures, to the arsenals, to the palaces, to the camps. After being thus feasted for six months, I wonder if, on returning home, they conceived that they knew France. If such was their opinion, they were in an error; for they saw only the brilliant part, the surface; and it is not by the surface that one can judge of the force of a nation. The ambassador should descend from his dignity, travel in a common carriage without his attendants, go into the stables to see the horses, into the barns to see the grain and other productions of the country. It is thus that Mr. Jefferson travelled in France and Italy; he had but one servant with him; he saw everything with his own eyes. I believe that few voyages have been made with so much judgment and utility, as those of that philosopher. But his modesty conceals his observations from the public eye.

People disguise everything, to deceive men in place. A prince goes to an hospital; he tastes the soup and the meat. Does anyone suppose that the superintendent was fool enough not to have given orders to the cook that day?

True observation is that of every day. A traveller, before setting out, ought to know from books and men the country he goes to visit. He will have some data; he will confront what he sees, with what he has heard.

He ought to have a plan of observation; if he wishes that nothing should escape him, he should accustom him-



self to seize objects rapidly, and to write, every night, what he has seen in the day.

The choice of persons to consult, and to rely upon, is difficult.

The inhabitants of a country have generally a predilection in favour of it, and strangers have prejudices against it. In America I found this prejudice in almost every stranger. The American revolution confounds them. They cannot familiarize the idea of a king-people and an elective chief, who shakes hands with a labourer, who has no guards at his gate, who walks on foot, etc. The foreign consuls are those who decry, with the most virulence, the American constitution; and, I say it with grief, I saw much of this virulence among some of ours. According to them, the United States, when I landed in America, were just falling to ruin. They had no government left, the constitution was detestable; there was no confidence to be placed in the Americans, the public debt would never be paid; and there was no faith, no justice among them.

Being a friend of liberty, these calumnies against the American government were revolting to me; I combated them with reasoning. My adversaries, who objected to me then their long abode there, and the shortness of mine, ought to be convinced by this time that the telescope of reason is rather better than the microscope of office. They have, in general, some abilities and some information; but they have generally been educated in the inferior places in the French administration, and they have well imbibed its prejudices. A republic is a monstrous thing in their sight; a minister is an idol that they adore; the people, in their view, is a herd that must be governed with rigour. A man who lives upon the rapines of despotism, is always a bad judge of a free country; they feel that they should

be nothing in such a state; and a man does not like to fall into nothing.\*

I met in our French travellers, the same prejudices as in the consuls. The greater part of Frenchmen who travel or emigrate, have little information, and are not prepared to the art of observation. Presumptuous to excess, and admirers of their own customs and manners, they ridicule those of other nations. Ridicule gives them a double pleasure; it feeds their own pride, and humbles others. At Philadelphia, for instance, the men are grave, the women serious, no finical airs, no libertine wives, no coffee-houses, no agreeable walks. My Frenchman finds everything detestable at Philadelphia; because he could not strut upon a boulevard, babble in a coffee-house, nor seduce a pretty woman by his important airs and his fine curls. He was almost offended that they did not admire him; that they did not speak French.

He was greatly troubled that he could speak American with the same facility; he lost so much in not being able to show his wit.

If, then, a person of this cast attempts to describe the Americans, he shows his own character, but not theirs. A people grave, serious, and reflecting, cannot be judged of and appreciated, but by a person of a like character.

It is to be hoped that the revolution will change the character of the French. If they ameliorate their morals, and augment their information, they will go far; for it is the property of reason and enlightened liberty to perfect themselves without ceasing, to substitute truth to error, and principle to prejudice. They will then insensibly lay

\*Judge, by the following instance, with what insolence the agents of despotism treat the chiefs of respectable republics. I heard M. de Moustier boasting, that he told the president of congress, at his own house, that he was but a tavern-keeper; and that the Americans had the complaisance not to demand his recall! What horror must this man have for our revolution! He declared himself the enemy of it when he was in America, and expressed himself with violence against its leaders. These facts are public. I denounce them to M. Montmorin, who nevertheless, to recompense him for his anti-revolution manoeuvres, has sent him ambassador to Berlin.

aside their political prejudices, which tarnish still the glorious constitution which they have founded. They will imitate the Americans as far as local and physical circumstances will permit; they will imitate them, and they will be the happier for it; for general happiness does not consist with absurdities and contradictions; it cannot arise from the complication, nor from the shock of powers. There is but one real power in government, and it is in referring it back to its source as often as possible, that it is to be rendered beneficent; it becomes dangerous in proportion as it is distant from its source; in one word, the less active and powerful the government, the more active, powerful and happy is the society. This is the phenomenon demonstrated in the present history of the United States.

These Travels give the proof of the second part of this political axiom; they prove the activity, the power, the happiness of the Americans; that they are destined to be the first people on earth, without being the terror of others.

To what great chain are attached these glorious destinies? To three principles: 1. All power is elective in America. 2. The legislative is frequently changed. 3. The executive has, moreover, but little force.\*

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\*This last point merits some attention, in the present circumstances of France. The president of the United States is elected like all other presidents and governors of states. A man cannot conceive, in that country, that wisdom and capacity are hereditary. The Americans, (who shake their heads at this European folly), from sixteen years' experience, have found none of those troubles, at the time of electing a president, as were apprehended by ignorant people in Europe. The same tranquility reigns in this election, as in that of the simple representatives. Men who can not answer to arguments, raise phantoms, in order to have something to combat; they attend not to the effects of the progress of reason, and the instinct of analogy which the people possess. The moment they are accustomed to the election of the representative body, all other elections are easy to them. It is the same reason among men instructed, and the same instinct of analogy among those not instructed, which inspires an eternal distrust of the executive power, in countries where the chiefs are hereditary, and not elective. The moment that we decreed the monarchy hereditary, we decreed an eternal distrust in the people, of the executive power. It would be, indeed, against nature, that they should have confidence in individuals, who pretend to a supernatural superiority, and who really have one in fact, being independent of the people. There cannot exist an open confidence, but in governments where the executive power is elective, because the governing is dependent on the governed.

Now, as confidence is impossible under the hereditary monarchy, by it results necessarily from a government elective in all its members, we may explain—whence the eternal quarrels between the people and the government, in the first case—whence the frequent recurrence to force—whence treasons and ministerial delinquencies go unpunished—whence liberty is violated—and whence nations, thus governed, enjoy but a fictitious and partial prosperity, often stained with blood; while, in the other case, where the people, by elections, hold in check the members of the government, there exists an unity of interests, which produces a prosperity, real, general, and pacific.

The president of the United States can make no treaty, send no ambassador, nominate to no place, without the advice of the senate. This senate is elective; the president is responsible; he may be accused, prosecuted, suspended, condemned; the public good suffers nothing from this responsibility; the places of president and ministers are not vacant on that account; but they are filled by men of acknowledged merit; for the people, who elect, do not, like chance, take fools for governors; nor do they, like kings, make ministers of knaves and petty tyrants.

It will be easy for me one day to deduce from these three principles, all the happy effects which I have observed in America. At present I content myself with describing their effects, because I wish to leave to my readers the pleasure of recurring to the causes, and then of descending from those causes, and making the application to France. I have not even told all the facts; I had so little time both to detail the facts, and draw the consequences. I am astonished to have been able to finish a work so voluminous, in the midst of so many various occupations which continually surround me; charged alone with compiling and publishing a daily paper, undertaken with the sole desire of establishing in the public opinion, this powerful instrument of revolutions; a paper in which the defence of good principles, the watching over a thousand enemies, and repulsing perpetual attacks, occupy my attention without ceasing. Much of my time is likewise taken up by my political and civil functions; by many particular pamphlets; by the necessity of assisting at clubs, where truths are prepared for the public eye; by the duty which I have prescribed to myself, to defend the men of colour and the blacks.

I mention these facts to my readers, to prove to them that I have still some right to their indulgence. I merit it, likewise, for the motive which directs me. *Consilium suturi ex praeterito venit*: Great prospects are opening before us. Let us hasten, then, to make known, that people whose happy experience ought to be our guide.

Paris, April 21, 1791.

# IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## LETTER I

(From M. Claviere to M. Brissot de Warville)

PLAN OF OBSERVATIONS ON THE POLITICAL, CIVIL, AND  
MILITARY STATE OF THE FREE AMERICANS,  
THEIR LEGISLATION, ETC.

May 18, 1788.

The voyage that you are going to undertake, my dear friend, will doubtless form the most interesting period of your contemplative life. You are going to transport yourself into a part of the globe, where a person may, with the least obstruction, bring into view the most striking and interesting scenes that belong to humanity. It is with a little courage, much patience, a continual diffidence of his own habits of mind and manners, a total oblivion of his most cherished opinions, and of himself, and with a determination to be cautious and slow in judging, that he may conclude, what is the situation where man, the child of earth, may assemble the greatest sum, and the longest duration of public and private happiness.

In a few years, and without great dangers, you may contemplate the most varied scenes; you may pass in America, from a soil the best cultivated, and grown old with an active population, into the deserts, where the hand of man has modified nothing, where time, vegetation, and the dead mass of matter, seem to have furnished the expense of the theatre.

Between these extremes, you will find intermediate stages of improvement; and it is, doubtless, in contemplat-

ing these, that reason and sensibility will find the happiest situation in life.

The present state of independent America, will, perhaps, give us a glance at the highest perfection of human life that we are permitted to hope for; but who, in judging of it, can separate himself from his age, from his temperament, from his education, from the impression of certain circumstances? Who can silence his imagination, and govern the sensations which excite it? I hope, my friend, that you may have this power; and you ought to neglect nothing to acquire it, if you wish to answer the end of your travels. You wish to enlighten mankind, to smoothe the way to their happiness; for this reason, you ought to be more on your guard than any one, not to deceive yourself by appearances.

When, therefore, you shall form your opinion on the spot of those celebrated American constitutions, do not exaggerate too much either the vices of Europe, to which you compare them, or the virtues of America, which you bring into the contrast. Make it a principal object to determine whether it may not be said, in reality things are here as they are with us; the difference is so small, that it is not worth the change. This is a proper method to guard against error. It is well, at the same time, to form a just idea of the difficulty of change; this should be always present to the mind. Voltaire says:

*“La patrie est aux lieux ou l’ame est enchainee.”*

You wish to contemplate the effects of liberty on the progress of men, of society, and of government. May you, in this examination, never lose sight of impartiality and cool circumspection, that your friends may not be exposed either to incredulity, or to deception.

I do not imagine that you can find in America, new motive to engage every reasonable European to the love

of liberty. What they will most thank you for is, to describe to us what America in fact is, and what, in opinion, she may be, in a given time, making a reasonable allowance for those accidents which trouble the repose of life.

Men always dispute; they are everywhere formed of the same materials and subject to the same passions; but the matters on which they dispute, are, in a given country, more or less fitted to disturb the general harmony and individual happiness. Thus a state of universal toleration renders harmless the diversity of opinion in religious matters.

In proportion as political institutions submit the ruling power to well-defined forms, at the same time that they have the public opinion in their favour, political dissensions are less dangerous. This, my friend, is the point of view under which the political state of America ought to be known to us. Let us know, above all, what we have to expect, for the present and future, from that variety which distinguishes so considerably some states from others, and whether some great inconvenience will not result from it; whether the federal tranquility will ever be shaken by it; whether this variety will corrupt the justice of some states towards others in their ordinary commerce, and in those cases where the confederation is the judge; whether some states will not give themselves commotions and agitations, for the sake of forming their governments, similar, or dissimilar, to that of some others; whether state jealousies do not already exist, occasioned by these varieties. Such jealousies greatly injure the Swiss cantons; they have ruined Holland, and will prevent its restoration. If these jealousies are unknown to the Americans, and will never arise there, explain to us this phenomenon, why it exists, and why it will continue; for you know, that from what you may observe to us on this single point, your friends

may be induced either to stay where they are, or to give the preference to one state in the union over another.

There is one advantage in America which Europe does not offer; a man may settle himself in the desert, and be safe from political commotions. But is there no danger in this? Endeavour to explain to us the state of the savages on that great continent, the most certain account of their numbers, their manners, the causes, more or less, inevitable, of wars with them. This part of your accounts will not be the least interesting. Forget not to give us, as far as you have opportunity, all that can be known relative to the ancient state of America.

Observe what are the remains of the military spirit among the Americans; what are their prejudices in this respect; are there men among them who wish to see themselves at the head of armies? Do they enlist any soldiers? Can you perceive any germs, which, united to the spirit of idleness, would make the profession of a soldier preferable to that of a cultivator, or an artizan? For it is this wretched situation of things in other countries, which furnishes the means of great armies. Inform us about those Cincinnati, a body truly distressing to the political philosopher.

Solomon says, "there is nothing new under the sun." This may be true; but are we yet acquainted with all political revolutions, in order to make the circle complete? History furnishes the picture of no revolution like that of the United States, nor any arrangements similar to theirs. Thus you may look into futurity, and see what perseverances or changes may contradict the philosophy of history.

You ought, likewise, to foresee whether foreign wars are to be expected; whether the Europeans are right in saying, that the United States will one day wish to be conquerors. I do not believe it; I believe rather that their



revolution will be contagious, especially if their federal system shall maintain union and peace in all parts of the confederation. This is the master-point of the revolution; it ought to engage the whole force of your meditations.

Tell us, finally, if the rage of law-making has passed the seas with the colonists of the United States. You will doubtless find there, many minds struck with the disorders resulting from war and independence; others, who preserve a lively image of the great liberty which each individual ought to enjoy; the first will be frightened at the least disturbance, and wish to see a law or a statute applied to every trivial thing; the others think that laws can never be too few. What is the prevailing opinion there on this subject? When we consider what charms and what utility must be found in the private occupations of men in that country, we should think that the commonwealth would remain a long time without intermingling with them. But we are assured that lawyers abound there, and enjoy a dangerous influence; that the civil legislation is there, as in England, an abundant source of law-suits and of distress. Enlighten us on this subject. We have often observed, that civil legislation has corrupted the best political institutions; it is often a crime against society.

Internal police, everywhere in Europe, is founded on the opinion, that man is depraved, turbulent, and wicked; and the timidity that wealth inspires, disposes the rich to regard the poor as capable only of being restrained by fetters. Is this European truth a truth in America?

## LETTER II

ON THE SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, CULTIVATIONS, ETC.

May 20, 1788.

After having instructed us on all political subjects, and principally those on which depend internal and external

peace, and the security of individuals, you will have to contemplate the soil of America as relative to human industry, which, in its turn, influences prodigiously the different modes of living.

It seems, in this respect, that all the great divisions of the earth should resemble each other. It is possible, however, that America offers, in the same space, more ailments to industry, more data, than can be found in Europe. Fix our ideas upon those invitations that nature has traced on the soil of America, in addressing herself to the human understanding. To particularize minutely what the maps only give us in gross, will be more worthy of your attention, than the details which interest the painter, the poet, or the lover of an English garden.

We have undertaken to advise the Americans to be cultivators, and to leave to the Europeans those manufactures which agree not with a country life. You will be curious to discover their disposition in this respect. It ought to depend much on the facility of communication; and if, as it appears, independent America, in a little time, and with small expense, may be intersected by canals in all directions; if this advantage is so generally felt, that they will apply themselves to it at an early period, there is no doubt but in America human activity will be occupied principally in the production of subsistence, and of raw materials.

It is the opinion in Europe, that consumption causes production, and that the failure of consumption discourages labour; for this reason they require cities and manufactures. But there is, in all these opinions, a great confusion of ideas, which the spectacle of nations, rising under the protection of liberty, will aid you in clearing up. You will see, perhaps, with evidence, that a man ceases to fear the superfluity of subsistences, when he is no longer under

the necessity of exchanging them for money, to pay his taxes and his rents. Should this be his fear, and he has near him the means of a cheap transport, if he may himself load his boat and carry his provisions to market, and make his traffic without quitting his boat, man is too fond of activity to suffer superfluity to impede his industry. Thus, to engage him to open the bosom of the earth, there is no need that he should be assured beforehand what he shall do with his grain. Expenses are the impediments of industry; and you will see without doubt, in America, a new order of things, where these expenses are not embarrassing; the theory of consumption, and production, is doubtless very different, from what is supposed in Europe. Endeavour, my friend, to call to mind, that in this we have need of more details, comparisons, calculations, facts, and proofs, than travellers generally bring together; and that this part of political economy is still entirely new, on account of the embarrassments, abstractions, difficulties, and disgusts which attend them in Europe.

It is on the accounts that you will give us in this respect, that the opinions of your friends will be formed. So many misadventures and misinformations have hitherto accompanied emigrants, though virtuous, and otherwise well informed, that people are intimidated from the attempt, though ill-situated in Europe. You know what the Genevians have suffered, rather than to go to Ireland.

Thus, my friend, if you wish to instruct those who would fly from the tyranny of Europe, and who would find a situation of honest industry for their children, study the history of emigrants. Study the causes of the disasters of travellers; judge of their illusions; go to the places of debarkation, and learn the precautions necessary to be taken to render easy and agreeable their first arrival.

Begin with such as you know to be in easy circumstances, and descending, by degrees, to the honest individual, who, full of health and vigour, his coat on his back, and his staff in his hand, carries with him all he possesses; inform each one what he ought to expect, if, after conquering all his aversions, and taking all his precautions, he determines to quit Europe, to go to the land of liberty.

Finally, my friend, in all that concerns private life, as in political relations, in the means of acquiring fortune; as in the honest ambition of serving the public, let your observations attest that you have neglected no means of comparing the enjoyments of Europe, with what may be expected among the free Americans.

### LETTER III

PLAN OF A COLONY TO BE ESTABLISHED IN AMERICA

MAY 21, 1788

When we contemplate the American Revolution, the circumstances which have opposed its perfection, the knowledge we are able to collect for the institution of republics on a more perfect plan, the lands destined by Congress for new States, and the multitude of happy circumstances which may facilitate their preparatives, and protect their infancy, we are hurried insensibly into projects chimerical at the first sight, which become attractive by reflection, and which we abandon, but with regret, on account of the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of persons for their execution.

When a tract of land is offered for sale, and its limits ascertained, why cannot it be prepared, in all circumstances, for a republic, in the same manner as you prepare a house for your friends?

Penn had already seen the necessity of regulating beforehand, the conduct of a colony on the soil which they

were going to inhabit. We have at present many more advantages than he had, to ordain and execute the same thing with more success; and, instead of savages, who gave him trouble, we should at present be sustained and protected by the States, with which we would be connected.

I have no doubt, that, having acquired the soil, we might establish a republic, better calculated for peace and happiness, than any now existing, or that ever did exist. Hitherto they have formed from chance and involuntary combinations. It has been necessary in them all, that national innovations should be reconciled with absurdities, knowledge with ignorance, good sense with prejudices, and wise institutions with barbarisms. Hence that chaos, that eternal source of distresses, disputes, and disorders.

If men of wisdom and information should organize the plan of a society before it existed, and extend their foresight to every circumstance of perparing proper institutions for the forming of the morals public and private, and the encouragement of industry, ought they to be condemned as having formed an Eutopia? I do not believe it. It is my opinion, even that the love of gain, the love of novelty, and the spirit of philosophy, would lend a hand to an enterprise, which, before the American Revolution, might have been judged impracticable.

Profit, therefore, of your travels in America, to inform yourself, if, among the lands to be sold by Congress, there exists not a situation of easy access, where the nature of the soil is favourable to industry, and its other circumstances inviting to the first settlers. It should be furnished with easy communications by land and water.

For this purpose, there should be a topographical map and description, sufficiently minute and extended, to enable us to trace upon it the smaller divisions. There ought to be found levels, relative to a certain point, in order to

know beforehand the possibility of canals. All other objects of consequence ought to be noted at the same time; such as the nature of the soil in every part, the kinds of timber, the quarries of stone, etc. This will doubtless be an expensive operation; but any expences may be undertaken by great associations, and here are motives sufficient to encourage and reward a very expensive one.

It will be necessary to know, on what conditions the Congress would treat for the cession of such a tract, and whether they would agree to take the principal part of the payment, only as fast as the settlers should come to take possession of their lands.

It would be desirable that the territory chosen should be such that, at the place of the first settlement, it would be easy to establish conveniences for the reception of the settlers, to provide them such necessaries as will preserve them from those embarrassments and calamities which sometimes throw infant settlements into trouble, misery, and despair.

After having acquired an exact idea of what may be expected from the nature of the places, we might then undertake the work of forming a political and civil legislation, suited to the new republic, and its local circumstances. Such should be the task to be accomplished before the people departed from hence; that every settler might know beforehand what laws he is to live under, so that he will consent to them beforehand by choice.

The previous regulations ought to be carried so far, that every person should foresee where he was going, and what he was to do in order to fulfill his engagements; whether he was a purchaser of lands, or had enrolled himself as a labourer.

The lands should not be sold out to individuals by chance, and according to the caprice of each purchaser;

but a plan should be persued in the population, that the people might aid each other in their labours, and be a mutual solace and protection to their neighbourhood.

The public expenses, those of religion and education, should be furnished by the produce of a portion of land reserved in each district for that purpose. These lands could be the public domain; they ought to be put in cultivation the first. There ought perhaps to be a regulation for a regular supply of workmen on the public lands, roads, and other public works. By this we should always have employment for new comers, and might receive all men capable of labour, provided their manners and character were such as to entitle them to be members of the new republic.

These details will be sufficient to recall to your mind, our frequent conversations on a plan of this kind. If you can acquire from Congress the certainty of being able to realize it, so far as it depends on them, and we have only to find the company here to undertake it—I believe it may be easily done in Europe.

The company will have lands to sell, their price will augment in proportion as they come in vogue. The company will endeavour to render it an object of general attention, by the preparations made for the reception of the first settlers, in order to avoid the difficulties incident to the beginning of an establishment. I doubt not, therefore, that this project will offer a sufficient prospect of gain, to engage people to adventure in it many millions of livres.

The better to determine them to it, the interest should be divided into small shares, and proper measures taken to assure the holders of shares of an administration worthy of confidence, to prevent the abuses of trust, and watch over the execution of their resolves, both respecting their interest, and that of the settlers.

A prospectus, sufficiently detailed, should inform the public of the nature of the enterprise, the principal object of which should be to realize a republic, founded on the lessons of experience and good sense, on the principles of fraternity and equality, which ought to unite mankind.

The principal means of its execution will be to have purchased the lands so as to be able to resell them at a price sufficiently low, to encourage their cultivation, and at the same time with sufficient profit to the company. For it is natural to observe, that the difference between the original value of lands in their wild state, and their value when an active settlement is begun upon them, will assure to the first purchasers a prodigious profit from their first advances.

This, however, supposes, as I have already mentioned, that, receiving a small proportion of the purchase-money when the purchase is made, the Congress will consent to receive the principal payments only in proportion as the lands may be re-sold to individuals; without this condition, the enterprise would require such great advances as to discourage the undertaking.

Thus, the funds of the company should be composed, 1. of the first payments to be made to Congress; 2. the expenses necessary in acquiring a topographical knowledge of the territory, and in making its divisions; 3. the funds necessary for public works, and the establishment for the reception of those who arrive, to ensure them against want and discouragement.

These three objects will doubtless require a considerable fund; but the rising value of the lands to be sold, and to be paid for only as fast as they are sold, will greatly indemnify the undertakers. These are the solid arguments to be offered to the lovers of gain. Many other considera-



tions might be detailed in the prospectus, to determine philosophers and friends of humanity to become sharers.

This is enough, my friend, to recall to your mind more ideas than I can give you on the subject. Study it; and if at the first view it looks romantic, find the means of saving it from that objection; converse upon it with intelligent persons; find such as are sufficiently attached to great objects, to be willing to concur in them with zeal, when they are designed for the aid and consolation of humanity.

Age will prevent me from undertaking in this great work. It seems to me, that there is nothing like it in times past, that it would be greatly useful to the future, and would mark the American revolution with one of the happiest effects which it can produce. Is not this enough to animate the generous ambition of those who have youth, health, and courage, so as not to be frightened at difficulties, or disheartened by delays?

#### LETTER IV.

May 21, 1788.

The Utopia will be but a dream; and you will find, without doubt, the new American settlements invincibly destined to a scattering herd of people, who will form insensibly, by the addition of new families and individuals; without following any plan, without providing such laws as would be suitable to them, when their herds shall become sufficiently numerous to be represented as a republic in the federal union. It is thus that all political systems seem condemned to resemble what has already taken place in such and such a State, according as the multitude, or some bold leader, shall decide.

We must, then, abandon this project; and then, where will you place those friends whom we wish to establish in America? You will inform yourself, for them, of the pro-

gress of population and civilization in Kentucky, of which they tell so many wonders. But reflect on two things: first, that our settlement will be very uncertain, if we must go ourselves to prepare it, build houses, etc. Some persons must, therefore, go before the others; and when shall they rejoin? How many accidents may intervene. When the emigrant society shall be formed in Europe, the members ought all to go at once; but in that case they should make choice of a certain tract in the neighborhood of a town, where the people could be lodged, till they could build their houses. This precaution seems to exclude Kentucky; for no good town is sufficiently near it. You will see, then, my friend, how it will be possible to reconcile every thing, and find a position where the pain and vexation will not surpass the satisfaction. Your task is not a trifling one in making this examination; for you must not forget, that, to satisfy the persons whom we wish not to leave behind, we must have a situation where we can unite the advantages of commerce with those of agriculture; we must be near a navigable river, communicating with the sea; we must have a town, where we can find sailors, vessels, etc., in a word, those among us who shall have been accustomed to the affairs of commerce and of manufactures, must not be placed in a position which shall force them absolutely to renounce their habits, and expose themselves to regrets; for you know that one is never weary in walking, as long as a horse or a carriage marches by his side, which he may use whenever he pleases.

It is a pity that Pittsburgh is not more populous, or that Virginia is separated by deserts from the new states.

It is useless to enter into more particular details on this matter; you know us. I shall only recommend to you an attention to the climate. A fine sky, temperature of

Paris, no musketoes, agreeable situation, and good soil, are things indispensable.

The numerous observations which you propose to collect for the instruction of the public, will inform us of many other things, which I should mention here, if they did not enter into your general plan. In observing customs and tastes, forget not the article of music, considered in its effects on the powers of the mind. The taste for music is general in Europe; we make of it one of the principal objects of education. Is it so in America?

Finally, as we are not needy adventurers, think what answers you must give, when our wives, our children, and even ourselves, shall ask you what is to be done on our arrival in considerable numbers in any town in America; for, as we cannot send forward a messenger, we ought to provide for our debarkation in an unknown country.

#### LETTER V.

May 22, 1788.

After having given you my thoughts on general subjects, it is unnecessary to be more particular on those which promise a more certain and palpable advantage to your travels. I mean the purchase of lands or public funds, according as circumstances may invite.

Three classes of persons may wish to purchase lands in the United States: those who mean to employ others to cultivate them, those who will cultivate for themselves, and those who wish to place their money in them, with the prospect that these lands will increase in value, in proportion to the population.

Let us leave the two first classes to make their own choice. Your general observations, to be published on your return, will instruct such as wish to remove to America, how to go and choose for themselves.

The ease of the simple speculators is different. Some wish to purchase, to sell again to a profit as soon as possible; others extend their views farther, and, calculating the vicissitudes of Europe, find it very prudent to place a dead fund in lands, which, by the effect of neighbouring population, will acquire a great value in the course of years.

Many heads of families, provident for their descendants, place dead funds in a bank, to accumulate, in favour of their children. A greater number would do the same thing, if there were a satisfactory solution of all questions in the Chapter of Accidents. Now, nothing appears to me better to answer this wise precaution, than to place such money on the cultivated soil of the United States.

The information that you will be able to give on this subject, will be very useful. There are lands which, from their position, must remain uncleared for a longer or shorter period; others rendered valuable by the neighbourhood of rivers and other important communications; others on account of their timber, etc., etc.

But, can lands be purchased with full surety? Are there any sure methods established, to recognize territorial property, that may rest for some time without visible marks or bounds? Is there no risk of finding one's property in the possession of another, or of having purchased that of another?

The present is the epoch that will decide the Europeans, as to their confidence in the United States. I doubt not but the States in general will sanction the constitution; and from that time every eye ought to look upon America as being in the road of unfailing prosperity. Then, without doubt, many Europeans will think of purchasing lands there. I know of no period when the spirit of speculation has been so general as at present; no period which presents

a revolution like that of independent America; and no foundation so solid as that which they are about to establish. Thus, past events prove nothing against what I presume of the dispositions of men's minds relative to this business.

I should not be astonished, then, if he who applies himself to the knowledge of lands in this point of view, and gives solutions to all questions of caution and diffidence, should engage the Europeans to very great purchases.

## LETTER VI.

METHOD OF OBSERVATIONS FOR MY TRAVELS IN AMERICA.\*

May, 1788.

My principal object is to examine the effects of liberty on the character of man, of society, and of government. This being the grand point of all my observations, in order to arrive at it, I must write every evening, in a journal, what has principally struck me in the day. As my observations will refer to five or six grand divisions, I shall make a tablet for each division. The following are the divisions:

### *Federal Government.*

To collect all those points in which the ancient system resembles the new—to obtain all that has been written on the subject; among other things, the Letters of Publius—to remark the inconveniences of the old system, the advantages of the new, the objections made against it, the general opinions on the new government.

### *Observations of My Friend Claviere.*

A number of little states, whose extent is not so great as to render the operations of their individual government too complicated, may be united under one general government, charged with maintaining internal peace, and

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\*I thought proper to publish this method: it may be useful to other travellers. The method is mine; the observations are from M. Claviere.

rendering their union respectable abroad. Such, without doubt, is the political association which is attended with the greatest advantages. You must then endeavour principally to find what we have a right to expect from the present federal form of the United States.

*Government of Each State.*

To consider the composition of the legislative body, the senate, and executive power, elections, any abuses that may be in them. Compare the effects of each legislature, to judge which is the best.

Observations.—What are we to expect from their dissimilarities? In what do they consist principally? They all acknowledge the supremacy of the people; but it is not preserved to them in an equal manner in all; and where they cannot resume it without a sedition, there can be little certainty of peace. Peace is very doubtful, likewise, where the will of the people is subject to the slow forms of instruction. The different States should be examined after this principle.

*Legislation, Civil, Criminal, Police.*

In examining these objects, facts only are to be attended to. Their comparison with those of other countries can be made afterwards.

*State of the Commerce Between Each State, and the Savages, the Canadians, Nova Scotia, the English Islands, France, Spain, Holland, Northern State of Europe, Mexico, China, India, and Africa.*

To remark the principal articles of exportation and importation; the number of vessels employed; the state of money used in commerce.

Observations.—Forget not to fix well the matters of exchange, especially with the Spanish possessions; for it

is principally thence that their gold and silver must come. Do they go by land to the western coast of America? Do the free Americans travel among their neighbors, the Spaniards?

Is their money-system a simple one? Has it a standard constant and easy to conceive? Is it of a permanent nature; so that, in a course of time, one may always judge of the price of things, in bringing them to a term of comparison not liable to change? This can only be done by having one integral metal, to which others relate, either as merchandize, or as a bill of credit referring to money, with regard to which it expresses a right, but not an intrinsic value. A piece of coined copper, for instance, is a bill of credit, on a portion of that metal which is adapted as the standard of value; for coined copper has by no means the intrinsic value of that portion of money which it represents.

### *Banks.*

Observations.—Banks are an important article in the commonwealth; the proportion which they observe between the money they contain, and the bills they circulate, is their great secret, the criterion of their solidity. Those which have little or no money, and which circulate many bills, are in a precarious and dangerous condition. Read with attention in Smith, the History of Banks in Scotland. It is very natural to be led astray on this subject, which cannot be too much simplified, if you wish to examine it thoroughly.

### *Federal Revenue of Each State—Taxes Which They Impose—Manner of Collecting Them—Effects of These Taxes.*

Observations.—What is the prevailing system of taxation? Is land considered as the basis of taxes? In that

case, is it known that it is dangerous to discourage the farmer? Why have they not reserved a domain to the States.

*The Federal Debt of Every State—Those of Individuals—Federal Expenses of Each State—Their Accountability.*

Observations.—The debt has been reduced; and they justify this reduction by the enormous prices of provisions and stores which have formed the debt. Read again the Memoirs of Mr. S. you will see that there was a moment when the scale of depreciation was unjust.

There are curious enquiries to be made on this subject. Why did they gain so much before they allowed a depreciation? Because they ran a risk of another kind; they doubted of the possibility of payment, because they were not sure of the success of the revolution. In this point of view, how do they justify the scale of depreciation, especially towards those who had no interest in the revolution?

Money was very scarce; this was a great cause of discredit. It must have been distressing to those who were reduced to the necessity of borrowing; hence great augmentations in the prices of articles. In some instances, was not the reduction unjust? This, taken from first to last, must be a very curious history. It will, perhaps, teach us, that they have made a fraudulent bankruptcy. But, in this case, there is nothing to fear from this conclusion; besides, supposing extortion on the part of the creditors, it does not justify a reduction on the part of the debtor; nothing but necessity can justify this. The new encyclopedia says, that the disorders which occasioned the depreciation, existed before the war.

But if paper-money existed then, that of every State was not in discredit; and yet the depreciation has struck at all paper-money without exception.



It is said in the encyclopedia, that the depreciation has not injured strangers. Is this a fact?

It is very important to obtain a just idea of the public expenses necessary to the Americans in future; and to penetrate, as much as possible, the public opinion on this subject. What do they think of loans? They are sometimes a benefit; but the wisest governments are the most careful to avoid this resource. When they once begin, they know not where they can stop.

Public loans are always so much taken from industry; and the theory of restoring to it what is thus taken, is always deceitful.

The Americans ought to hold them in aversion, from the evils which they now experience from them; at least, unless they owe their liberty to them.

*State of the Country Near the Great Towns—Interior Parts—Frontiers—Cultivation; Its Expences and Produce; Clearing New Lands; What Encourages or Hinders It—Money Circulating in the Country—Country Manufacturers.*

Observations.—It is said, that the lands are uncultivated near New York; that this town is surrounded with forests, and that though firewood is cheap, they prefer coals, even at a high price.

It should seem, that commerce was in such a state at New York, that agriculture is despised there, or that they purchase provisions at a lower price than they can raise them. If this be true, there are singularities to be explained, which we know nothing of in Europe.

Consider the state of commerce and of agriculture in America, under such a point of view as to determine why they incline to the one rather than to the other.

You will find, perhaps, that the origin of new comers determines their vocation. The English arrive with their

heads filled with commerce, because they have some property; the Scotch, Irish, Germans, and others, who arrive poor, turn to agriculture, and are, besides, for the greater part, peasants. In clearing up these facts, you will tell us what a little property, the love of labour, united to simplicity of manners, and turned to agriculture, will produce.

What is the true reason of the low price of cultivated farms and houses? Doubtless there is a great excess of productions, compared with the consumptions; in that case, farming renders little profit.

They speak much of the advantages of rearing cattle. Nations have prejudices, tastes, whims, like individuals. What do they think of manufactures in the United States? What is the prevailing mode of agriculture in America? Do they speak of the great and the little culture?

*Private Morals in the Towns and in the Country.*

Observations.—Do you find manners truly American? or do you rather, at every instant, find Europe at your heels? Speak to us of education, public and private. Do they, as in Europe, sacrifice the time of the youth in useless and insignificant studies? Make acquaintance, as far as possible, with the ministers of religion. Is paternal authority more respected there than in Europe? Does the mild education of Rousseau prevail among the free Americans?

*Inequalities of Fortune.*

Forget not, under this head, the subject of marriages, dowers, and testaments. Usages, in these respects, prevent or accelerate inequality.

LETTER I.

FROM M. DE WARVILLE.

Havre de Grace, June 3, 1788.

I am at last, my friend, arrived near the ocean, and in sight of the ship that is to carry me from my country. I

quit it without regret; since the ministerial despotism which overwhelms it, leaves nothing to expect for a long time, but frightful storms, slavery, or war. May the woes which threaten this fine country, spare what I leave in it, the most dear to my heart.

I shall not describe the cities and countries which I have passed on my way hither. My imagination was too full of the distressing spectacle I was leaving behind; my mind was thronged with too many cares and fears, to be able to make observations. Insensible to all the scenes which presented themselves to me, I was with difficulty drawn from this intellectual paralysis, at the view of some parts of Normandy, which brought England to my mind.

The fields of Normandy, especially the canton of Caux, display a great variety of culture. The houses of the peasants, better built, and better lighted than those of Picardy and Beauce, announce the ease which generally reigns in this province. The peasants are well clad. You know the odd head-dress of the women of Caux; the cap in the form of a pyramid, the hair turned back, constrained, plaistered with powder and grease, and the tinsil which always disfigures simple nature. But we excuse this little luxury, in considering that, if their husbands were as miserable as the peasants of other provinces, they would not have the means of paying the expence. The Norman peasants have that air of contentment and independence which is observable in those of the Austrian Flanders; that calm and open countenance, an infallible sign of the happy mediocrity, the moral goodness, and the dignity of man. If ever France shall be governed by a free constitution, no province is better situated, or enjoys more means to arrive at a high degree of prosperity.

Bolbec and Bottes, near Havre, contain some situations quite picturesque and delicious for the hermitage of

a philosopher, or the mansion of a family who seek their happiness within themselves.

I fled from Rouen as from all great towns. Misery dwells there at the side of opulence. You there meet a numerous train of wretches covered with rags, with sallow complexions, and deformed bodies. Everything announces that there are manufactories in that town; that is to say, a crowd of miserable beings; who perish with hunger, to enable others to swim in opulence.

The merchants of Havre complain much of the treaty of commerce between France and England; they think it at least premature, considering our want of a constitution, and the superiority of the English industry. They complain likewise that the merchant was not consulted in forming it. I endeavoured to console them by saying that the consequences of this treaty, joined with other circumstances, would doubtless lead to a free constitution; which, by knocking off the shackles from the French industry and commerce, would enable us to repair our losses; and that some bankruptcies would be but a small price for liberty. With regard to the indifference of the ministry in consulting the merchants, I convinced them, that it was as much the result of servile fear, and want of public spirit in the merchants, as of the principles of an unlimited monarchy. It admits to the administration none but short-sighted intriguers, and presumptuous knaves; and this kind of ministers love not consultations.

Havre is, next to Nantz and Bordeaux, the most considerable place for the slave trade. Many rich houses in this city owe their fortunes to this infamous traffic, which increases, instead of diminishing. There is, at present, a great demand for slaves in the colonies, occasioned by the augmentation of the demand for sugar, coffee, and cotton in Europe. Is it true then that wealth increases? You

may believe it, perhaps, if you look into England; but the interior parts of France give no such idea.

Our negro traders believe, that were it not for the considerable premiums given by the government, this trade could not subsist; because the English sell their slaves at a much lower price than the French. I have many of these details from an American captain, who is well acquainted with the Indies, and with Africa. He assures me, that the negroes are, in general, treated much better on board the French than the English ships. And, perhaps, this is the reason why the French cannot support a concurrence with the English, who nourish them worse, and expend less.

I spoke with some of these merchants of the societies formed in America, England, and France, for the abolition of this horrid commerce. They did not know of their existence, and they considered their efforts as the movements of a blind and dangerous enthusiasm. Filled with old prejudices, and not having read any of the profound discussions which this philosophical and political insurrection has excited in England, they ceased not to repeat to me, that the culture of sugar could not be carried on, but by the blacks, and by black slaves. The whites, they say, cannot undertake it, on account of the extreme heat; and no work can be drawn out of the blacks, but by the force of the whip.

To this objection, as to twenty others which I have heard a hundred times repeated, I opposed the victorious answers which you know\*; but I converted nobody. Interest still speaks too high; and it is not enough instructed.

These French merchants have confirmed to me a fact, which the society in London has announced to us; it is, that the English carry on this trade under the name of French houses, and thus obtain the premiums which the

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See Clarkson, Frossard, etc.

French government gives to this commerce. These premiums amount to one-half of the original price of the slaves.

I mentioned to them an establishment formed at Sierra Leona, to cultivate sugar by free hands, and extend their culture and civilization in Africa. They answered me, that this settlement would not long subsist; that the French and English merchants viewed it with an evil eye, and would employ force to destroy their rising colony.\*

These merchants appeared to me to have more prejudice than inhumanity; and that if they could be told of a new commerce more advantageous, it would not be difficult to induce them to abandon the sale of the wretched Africans. Write then, print, and be not weary in giving information.

I see in this port, one of those packets destined for the correspondence between France and the United States, and afterwards employed in the very useless and expensive royal correspondence with our Islands—a system adopted only to favour, at the public expence, some of the creatures of the ministry. This ship, called Marechal de Castries, was built in America, and is an excellent sailer. This is the best answer to all the fables uttered at the Office of Marine at Versailles, against the American timber, and the American construction.

Adieu, my friend! the wind is fair, and we are on the point of embarking. I am impatient; for everything here afflicts me; even the accents of patriotism are alarming and suspicious. Such is the fatal influence of arbitrary governments; they sever all connections, they cramp confidence, induce suspicion, and, of consequence, force men of liberty and sensibility to sequester themselves, to be wretched, or to live in eternal fear. I paint to you, here, the martyrdom which I have endured for six months; I

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\*This infernal project has succeeded, but the triumph will not be long; for two societies are formed in London, to colonize in Africa, and civilize the blacks. See, on this subject, an excellent pamphlet entitled, "L'Amiral refuté par lui meme."

have not seen a new face, that has not given me suspicion. This situation is too violent for me—in a few hours my breast will be at ease, my soul will be quiet. What happiness I am going to enjoy in breathing a free air.

## LETTER II.

Boston, July 30, 1788.

With what joy, my good friend, did I leap to this shore of liberty! I was weary of the sea; and the sight of trees, of towns, and even of men, gives a delicious refreshment to eyes fatigued with the desert of the ocean. I flew from despotism, and came at last, to enjoy the spectacle of liberty, among a people, where nature, education, and habit had engraved the equality of rights, which every where else is treated as a chimera. With what pleasure did I contemplate this town, which first shook off the English yoke! which, for a long time, resisted all the seductions, all the menaces, all the horrors of a civil war. How I delighted to wander up and down that long street, whose simple houses of wood border the magnificent channel of Boston, and whose full stores offer me all the productions of the continent which I had quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artizans, and the sailors! It was not the noisy vortex of Paris; it was not the unquiet eager men of my countrymen; it was the simple, dignified air of men, who are conscious of liberty, and who see in all men their brothers and their equals. Everything in this street bears the marks of a town still in its infancy, but which, even in its infancy, enjoys a great prosperity. I thought myself in that Salentum, of which the lively pencil of Fenelon has left us so charming an image. But the prosperity of this new Salentum was not the work of one man, of a king, or a minister; it is the fruit of liberty, that mother of industry. Everything is rapid, everything great, everything durable

with her. A royal or ministerial prosperity, like a king or a minister, has only the duration of a moment. Boston is just rising from the devastations of war, and its commerce is flourishing; its manufactures, productions, arts, and sciences, offer a number of curious and interesting observations.

The manners of the people are not exactly the same as described by M. de Crevecoeur. You no longer meet here the Presbyterian austerity, which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking; which forbade travelling on Sunday, which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. The Bostonians unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. They are hospitable to strangers, and obliging to friends; they are tender husbands, fond and almost idolatrous parents, and kind masters. Music, which their teachers formerly proscribed as a diabolic art, begins to make part of their education. In some houses you hear the forte-piano. This art, it is true, is still in its infancy; but the young novices who exercise it, are so gentle, so complaisant, and so modest, that the proud perfection of art gives no pleasure equal to what they afford. God grant that the Bostonian women may never, like those of France, acquire the malady of perfection in this art! It is never attained, but at the expence of the domestic virtues.

The young women here, enjoy the liberty they do in England, that they did in Geneva when morals were there, and the republic existed; and they do not abuse it. Their frank and tender hearts have nothing to fear from the perfidy of men. Examples of this perfidy are rare; the vows of love are believed; and love always respects them, or shame follows the guilty.



The Bostonian mothers are reserved; their air is, however, frank, good, and communicative. Entirely devoted to their families, they are occupied in rendering their husbands happy, and in training their children to virtue.

The law announces heavy penalties against adultery; such as the pillory, and imprisonment. This law has scarcely ever been called into execution. It is because families are happy; and they are pure, because they are happy.

Neatness without luxury, is a characteristic feature of this purity of manners; and this neatness is seen every where in Boston, in their dress, in their houses, and in their churches. Nothing is more charming than an inside view of a church on Sunday. The good cloth coat covers the man; calicoes and chintzes dress the women and children, without being spoiled by those gewgaws which whim and caprice have added to them among our women. Powder and pomatum never sully the heads of infants and children; I see them with pain, however, on the heads of men: they invoke the art of the hair-dresser; for unhappily, this art has already crossed the seas.

I shall never call to mind, without emotion, the pleasure I had one day in hearing the respectable Mr. Clarke, successor to the learned Doctor Chauncey, the friend of mankind. His church is in close union with that of Doctor Cooper, to whom every good Frenchman, and every friend of liberty, owes a tribute of gratitude, for the love he bore the French, and the zeal with which he defended and preached the American independence. I remarked in this auditory, the exterior of that ease, and contentment of which I have spoken; that collected calmness, resulting from the habit of gravity, and the conscious presence of the Almighty; that religious decency, which is equally distant from grovelling idolatry, and from the light and wan-

ton airs of those Europeans who go to a church as to a theatre.

*Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae.*

But, to crown my happiness, I saw none of those livid wretches, covered with rags, who in Europe, soliciting our compassion at the foot of the altar, seem to bear testimony against Providence, our humanity, and the order of society. The discourse, the prayer, the worship, every thing, bore the same simplicity. The sermon breathed the best morality, and it was heard with attention.

The excellence of this morality characterizes almost all the sermons of all the sects through the continent. The ministers rarely speak dogmas: universal tolerance, the child of American independence, has banished the preaching of dogmas, which always leads to discussion and quarrels. All the sects admit nothing but morality, which is the same in all, and the only preaching proper for a great society of brothers.

This tolerance is unlimited at Boston; a town formerly witness of bloody persecutions, especially against the Quakers; where many of this sect paid, with their life, for their perseverance in their religious opinions. Just heaven! how is it possible there can exist men believing sincerely in God, and yet barbarous enough to inflict death on a woman, the intrepid Dyer,\* because she thee'd and thou'd

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\*M. de Warville appears to have been misinformed with respect to the severity of the persecutions against the Quakers in Massachusetts; and particularly the circumstances relating to Mrs. Dyer. This woman, I believe, is the only person ever put to death in that colony for anything connected with religious principles. The highest penalties inflicted by law against the Quakers, or any other sect, on account of its religion, was banishment. The Quakers then formed a settlement at Rhode Island; but several of them returned frequently to Massachusetts, with such a zeal for making proselytes, as to disturb the order of society. The disobedience of returning from banishment was then interdicted by the penalty of whipping; this not answering the purpose, the terrors of death were added. This unhappy woman, inspired, it seems, with the frenzy of martyrdom, came to provoke the pains of this severe law. She raved in the streets, against the magistrates and the church; went into religious assemblies, raised loud cries to drown the voice of the preachers, called them the worshippers of Baal; defied the judges, and said she would leave them no peace till they should incur the vengeance of Heaven, and the downfall of their own sect, by putting her to death!

The causes on both parties which led to this event, were doubtless culpable; but, to compare the demerit of each, would require a research equally difficult and useless at the present day. Persecution and contumacy are reciprocal causes and effects of the same evils in society; and perhaps these particular persecuted Quakers were as different

men, because she did not believe in the divine mission of priests, because she would follow the Gospel literally? But let us draw the curtain over these scenes of horror; they will never again sully this new continent, destined by heaven to be the asylum of liberty and humanity.

Every one at present worships God in his own way at Boston. Anabaptists, Methodists, Quakers, and Catholics, profess openly their opinions: and all offices of government, places and emoluments, are equally open to all sects. Virtue and talents, and not religious opinions, are the tests of public confidence.

The ministers of different sects live in such harmony, that they supply each other's places when any one is detained from his pulpit.

On seeing men think so differently on matters of religion, and yet possess such virtues, it may be concluded, that one may be very honest, and believe, or not believe, in transubstantiation, and the word. They have concluded that it is best to tolerate each other, and that this is the worship most agreeable to God.

Before this opinion was general among them, they had established another; it was the necessity of reducing divine worship to the greatest simplicity, to disconnect it from all its superstitious ceremonies, which gave it the appearance of idolatry; and particularly, not to give their priests enormous salaries, to enable them to live in luxury and idleness; in a word, to restore the evangelical simplicity. They have succeeded. In the country, the church has a glebe; in town, the ministers live on collections made each Sunday in the church, and the rents of pews. It is an excellent practice to induce the ministers to be diligent in

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in their character from the present respectable order of Friends in America, as the first Puritans of Boston were from its present inhabitants.

The delirium about witchcraft in Massachusetts is sometimes ignorantly confounded with the persecution of the Quakers.—Translator.

their studies, and faithful in their duty; for the preference is given to him whose discourses please the most,\* and his salary is the most considerable: while, among us, the ignorant and the learned, the debauchee and the man of virtue, are always sure of their livings. It results, likewise, from this, that a mode of worship will not be imposed on those who do not believe in it. Is it not a tyranny to force men to pay for the support of a system which they abhor?

The Bostonians are become so philosophical on the subject of religion, that they have lately ordained a man who was refused by the bishop. The sect to which he belongs have installed him in the church, and given him the power to preach and to teach; and he preaches, and he teaches, and discovers good abilities; for the people rarely deceive themselves in their choice. This economical institution, which has no example but in the primitive church, has been censured by those who believe still in the tradition of orders by the direct descendants of the Apostles. But the Bostonians are so near believing that every man may be his own preacher, that the apostolic doctrine has not found very warm advocates. They will soon be, in America, in the situation where M. d'Alembert has placed the ministers of Geneva.

Since the ancient puritan austerity has disappeared, you are no longer surprised to see a game of cards introduced among these good Presbyterians. When the mind is tranquil, in the enjoyment of competence and peace, it is natural to occupy it in this way, especially in a country

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\*The truth of this remark struck me at Boston and elsewhere in the United States. Almost all the ministers are men of talents, or at least, men of learning. With these precarious salaries, the ministers of Boston not only live well, but they marry, and rear large families of children. This fact confirms the judicious remarks of M. Claviere on the advantages of the priests marrying, even when their salary is small. Their alliance would be sought after, by fathers who would wish to give their daughters husbands well instructed, and of good morals. The same thing will happen in France when the priests shall be allowed to marry. They ought not, then, to dread marriage, though their salaries should be small.

where there is no theatre, where men make it not a business to pay court to the women, where they read few books, and cultivate still less the sciences. The taste for cards is certainly unhappy in a republican State. The habit of them contracts the mind, prevents the acquisition of useful knowledge, leads to idleness and dissipation, and gives birth to every malignant passion. Happily it is not very considerable in Boston; you see here no fathers of families risking their whole fortunes in it.

There are many clubs at Boston. M. Chastellux speaks of a particular club held once a week. I was at it several times, and was much pleased with their politeness to strangers, and the knowledge displayed in their conversation. There is no coffee-house at Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. One house in each town, that they call by that name, serves as an exchange.

One of the principal pleasures of the inhabitants of these towns, consists in little parties for the country, among families and friends. The principal expence of the parties, especially after dinner, is tea. In this, as in their whole manner of living, the Americans in general resemble the English. Punch, warm and cold, before dinner; excellent beef, and Spanish and Bordeaux wines, cover their tables, always solidly and abundantly served. Spruce beer, excellent cyder, and Philadelphia porter, precede the wines. This porter is equal to the English: the manufacture of it saves a vast tribute formerly paid to the English industry. The same may soon be said with respect to cheese. I have often found American cheese equal to the best Cheshire of England, or the Rocfort of France. This may with truth be said of that made on a farm on Elizabeth Island, belonging to the respectable Governor Bowdoin.

After forcing the English to give up their domination, the Americans determined to rival them in every thing useful. This spirit of emulation shows itself every where: it had erected at Boston an extensive glass manufactory, belonging to M. Breek and others.

This spirit of emulation has opened to the Bostonians, so many channels of commerce, which leads them to all parts of the globe.

Nil mortalibus arduum est;  
Audax Japeti genus.

If these lines could ever apply to any people, it is to the free Americans. No danger, no distance, no obstacle impedes them. What have they to fear? All mankind are their brethren: they wish peace with all.

It is this spirit of emulation, which multiplies and brings to perfection so many manufactories of cordage in this town; which has erected filatures of hemp and flax, proper to occupy young people, without subjecting them to be crowded together in such numbers as to ruin their health and their morals; proper, likewise, to occupy that class of women whom the long voyages of their seafaring husbands and other accidents reduce to inoccupation.

To this spirit of emulation are owing the manufactories of salt, nails, paper and paper-hangings, which are multiplied in this State. The rum distilleries are on the decline, since the suppression of the slave trade, in which this liquor was employed, and since the diminution of the use of strong spirits by the country people.

This is fortunate for the human race; and the American industry will soon repair the small loss it sustains from the decline of this fabrication of poisons.

Massachusetts wishes to rival, in manufactures, Connecticut and Pennsylvania; she has, like the last, a society

formed for the encouragement of manufactures and industry.

The greatest monuments of the industry of this State, are the three bridges of Charles, Malden, and Essex.

Boston has the glory of having given the first college or university to the new world. It is placed on an extensive plain, four miles from Boston, at a place called Cambridge; the origin of this useful institution was in 1636. The imagination could not fix on a place that could better unite all conditions essential to a seat of education; sufficiently near to Boston, to enjoy all the advantages of a communication with Europe and the rest of the world; and sufficiently distant, not to expose the students to the contagion of licentious manners, common in commercial towns.

The air of Cambridge is pure, and the environs charming, offering vast space for the exercise of the youth.

The buildings are large, numerous, and well distributed. But as the number of the students augments every day, it will be necessary soon to augment the buildings. The library, and the cabinet of philosophy, do honour to the institution. The first contains 13,000 volumes. The heart of a Frenchman palpitates on finding the works of Racine, of Montesquieu, and the Encyclopaedia, where, 150 years ago, arose the smoke of the savage calumet.

The regulation of the course of studies here, is nearly the same as that at the university of Oxford. I think it impossible but that the last revolution must introduce a great reform. Free men ought to strip themselves of their prejudices, and to perceive, that, above all, it is necessary to be a man and a citizen; and that the study of the dead languages, of a fastidious philosophy and theology, ought to occupy few of the moments of a life, which might be use-

fully employed in studies more advantageous to the great family of the human race.

Such a change in the studies is more probable, as an academy is formed at Boston, composed of respectable men, who cultivate all the sciences; and who, disengaged from religious prejudices, will doubtless very soon point out a course of education more short, and more sure in forming good citizens and philosophers.

Mr. Bowdoin, president of this academy, is a man of universal talents. He unites with his profound erudition, the virtues of a magistrate, and the principles of a republican politician. His conduct has never disappointed the confidence of his fellow-citizens; though his son-in-law, Mr. Temple, has incurred their universal detestation, for the versatility of his conduct during the war, and his open attachment to the British since the peace. To recompense him for this, the English have given him the consulate-general of America.

But to return to the university of Cambridge—superintended by the respectable president Willard. Among the associates in the direction of the studies, are distinguished Doctor Wigglesworth and Doctor Dexter. The latter is professor of natural philosophy, chemistry, and medicine; a man of extensive knowledge, and great modesty. He told me, to my great satisfaction, that he gave lectures on the experiments of our school of chemistry. The excellent work of my respectable master, Doctor Fourcroy, was in his hands, which taught him the rapid strides that this science had lately made in Europe.

In a free country, every thing ought to bear the stamp of patriotism. This patriotism, so happily displayed in the foundation, endowment, and encouragement of this university, appears every year in a solemn feast celebrated at Cambridge in honour of the Sciences. This feast, which



takes place once a year in all colleges of America, is called the commencement: it resembles the exercises and distribution of prizes in our colleges. It is a day of joy for Boston; almost all its inhabitants assemble in Cambridge. The most distinguished of the students display their talents in presence of the public; and these exercises, which are generally on patriotic subjects, are terminated by a feast, where reign the freest gaiety, and the most cordial fraternity.

It is remarked, that, in the countries chiefly devoted to commerce, the sciences are not carried to any high degree. This remark applies to Boston. The university certainly contains men of worth and learning; but science is not diffused among the inhabitants of the town. Commerce occupies all their ideas, turns all their heads, and absorbs all their speculations. Thus you find few estimable works, and few authors. The expense of the first volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy* of this town, is not yet covered; it is two years since it appeared. Some time since was published the history of the late troubles in Massachusetts; it is very well written. The author has found much difficulty to indemnify himself for the expence of printing it. Never has the whole of the precious history of New Hampshire, by Belnap, appeared, for want of encouragement.

Poets, for the same reason, must be more rare than other writers. They speak, however, of an original, but lazy poet, by the name of Allen. His verses are said to be full of warmth and force. They mention particularly a manuscript poem of his on the famous battle of Bunker Hill; but he will not print it. He has for his reputation and his money the carelessness of La Fontaine.

They publish a magazine here, though the number of gazettes is very considerable. The multiplicity of gazettes proves the activity of commerce, and the taste for politics

and news; the merits and multiplicity of literary and political magazines are signs of the culture of the sciences.

You may judge from these details, that the arts, except those that respect navigation, do not receive much encouragement here. The history of the Planetarium of Mr. Pope is a proof of it. Mr. Pope is a very ingenious artist, occupied in clock-making. The machine which he has constructed, to explain the movement of the heavenly bodies, would astonish you, especially when you consider that he has received no succour from Europe, and very little from books. He owes the whole to himself; he is, like the painter, Trumbull, the child of nature. Ten years of his life have been occupied in perfecting this Planetarium. He had opened a subscription to compensate his trouble; but the subscription was never full.

This discouraged artist told me one day, that he was going to Europe to sell this machine, and to construct others. This country, said he, is too poor to encourage the arts. These words, this country is too poor, struck me. I reflected, that if they were pronounced in Europe, they might lead to wrong ideas of America; for the idea of poverty carries that of rags, of hunger; and no country is more distant from that sad condition. When riches are centered in a few hands, these have a great superfluity; and this superfluity may be applied to their pleasures, and to favour the agreeable and frivolous arts. When riches are equally divided in society, there is very little superfluity, and consequently little means of encouraging the agreeable arts. But which of these two countries is the rich, and which is the poor? According to the European ideas, and in the sense of Mr. Pope, it is the first that is rich; but to the eye of reason it is not; for the other is the happiest. Hence it results, that the ability of giving en-

couragement to the agreeable arts, is a symptom of national calamity.

Let us not blame the Bostonians; they think of the useful, before procuring to themselves the agreeable. They have no brilliant monuments; but they have neat and commodious churches, but they have good houses, but they have superb bridges, and excellent ships. Their streets are well illuminated at night; while many ancient cities of Europe, containing proud monuments of art, have never yet thought of preventing the fatal effects of nocturnal darkness.

Besides the societies for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, they have another, known by the name of the Humane Society. Their object is to recover drowned persons. It is formed after a model of the one at London, as that is copied from the one at Paris. They follow the same methods as in Europe, and have rendered important succours.

The Medical Society is not less useful, than the one last mentioned. It holds a correspondence with all the country towns; to know the symptoms of local diseases, propose the proper remedies, and give instruction thereupon to their fellow-citizens.

Another establishment is the alms-house. It is destined to the poor, who, by age and infirmity, are unable to gain their living. It contains at present about 150 persons.

Another, called the work-house, or house of correction, is not so much peopled as you might imagine. In a rising country, in an active port, where provisions are cheap, good morals predominate, and the number of thieves and vagabonds is small. These are vermin attached to misery; and there is no misery here.

The state of exports and imports of this industrious people, to prove to you how many new branches of commerce they have opened since the peace, I refer to the gen-

eral table of the commerce of the United States, which I propose to lay before you.

An employment which is, unhappily, one of the most lucrative in this State, is the profession of the law. They preserve still the expensive forms of the English practice, which good sense, and the love of order, ought to teach them to suppress; they render advocates necessary; they have likewise borrowed from their fathers, the English, the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. But, notwithstanding the abuses of law proceedings, they complain very little of the lawyers. Those with whom I have been acquainted, appear to enjoy a great reputation for integrity; such as Sumner, Wendell, Lowell, Sullivan.

They did themselves honour in the affair of the Tender Act, by endeavoring to prevent it from being enacted, and afterwards to diminish as much as possible its unjust effects.

It is in part to their enlightened philanthropy, that is to be attributed the law of the 26th of March, 1788, which condemns to heavy penalties, all persons who shall import or export slaves, or be concerned in this infamous traffic.

Finally, they have had a great part in the Revolution, by their writings, by their discourses, by taking the lead in the affairs of Congress, and in foreign negotiations.

To recall this memorable period, is to bring to mind one of the greatest ornaments of the American bar, the celebrated Adams; who, from the humble station of a school-master, has raised himself to the first dignities; whose name is as much respected in Europe as in his own country, for the difficult embassies with which he has been charged. He has, finally returned to his retreat, in the midst of the applause of his fellow-citizens, occupied in the cultivation of his farm, and forgetting what he was when he trampled on the pride of his king, who had put a price

upon his head, and who was forced to receive him as the ambassador of a free country. Such were the generals and ambassadors of the best ages of Rome and Greece; such were Epaminondas, Cincinnatus, and Fabius.

It is not possible to see Mr. Adams, who knows so well the American constitutions, without speaking to him of that which appears to be taking place in France. I don't know whether he has an ill opinion of our character, of our constancy, or of our understanding; but he does not believe that we can establish a liberty, even equal to what the English enjoy;\* he does not believe, even that we have the right, like the ancient States-General, to require that no tax should be imposed without the consent of the people. I had no difficulty in combating him, even by authorities, independent of the social compact, against which no time, no concessions can prescribe.

Mr. Adams is not the only man distinguished in this great revolution, who has retired to the obscure labours of a country life. General Heath is one of those worthy imitators of the Roman Cincinnatus; for he likes not the American Cincinnati: their eagle appears to him a gew-gaw, proper only for children. On showing me a letter from the immortal Washington, whom he loves as a father, and reveres as an angel—this letter, says he, is a jewel which, in my eyes, surpasses all the eagles and all the ribbons in the world. It was a letter in which that general had felicitated him for his good conduct on a certain occasion. With what joy did this respectable man shew me all parts of his farm! What happiness he enjoys on it! He is a true farmer. A glass of cyder, which he presented to me with frankness and good humour painted on his countenance appeared to me superior to the most exquisite wines. With this simplicity, men are worthy of liberty, and they are sure of enjoying it for a long time.

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\*The event has proved how much he was deceived.

This simplicity characterises almost all the men of this State, who have acted distinguished parts in the revolution: such, among others, as Samuel Adams, and Mr. Hancock the present governor. If ever a man was sincerely an idolater of republicanism, it is Samuel Adams; and never a man united more virtues to give respect to his opinions. He has the excess of republican virtues, untainted probity, simplicity, modesty,\* and, above all, firmness: he will have no capitulation with abuses; he fears as much the despotism of virtue and talents, as the despotism of vice. Cherishing the greatest love and respect for Washington, he voted to take from him the command at the end of a certain term; he recollected, that Caesar could not have succeeded in overturning the republic, but by prolonging the command of the army. The event has proved that the application was false; but it was by a miracle, and the safety of a country should never be risked on the faith of a miracle.

Samuel Adams is the best supporter of the party of Governor Hancock. You know the great sacrifices which the latter made in the revolution, and the boldness with which he declared himself at the beginning of the insurrection. The same spirit of patriotism animates him still. A great generosity, united to a vast ambition, forms his character: he has the virtues and the address of popularism; that is to say, that without effort he shows himself the equal, and the friend of all. I supped at his house with a hatter, who appeared to be in great familiarity with him. Mr. Hancock is amiable and polite, when he wishes to be; but they say he does not always chuse it. He has a marvellous gout, which dispenses him from all attentions, and forbids the access to his house. Mr. Hancock has not the

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\*When I compare our legislators, with their airs of importance, always fearing they shall not make noise enough, that they shall not be sufficiently praised; when I compare them to these modest republicans, I fear for the success of the revolution. The vain man can never be far from slavery.

learning of his rival, Mr. Bowdoin; he seems even to disdain the sciences. The latter is more esteemed by enlightened men; the former more beloved by the people. Among the partizans of the governor, I distinguished two brothers, by the name of Jarvis; one is comptroller-general of the State; the other a physician, and member of the legislature. The first has as much calmness of examination and profundity of thought, as the latter has of rapidity in his penetration, agility in his ideas, and vivacity in his expression. They resemble each other in one point, that is, in simplicity—the first of republican virtues; a virtue born with the Americans, and only acquired with us. If I were to paint to you all the estimable characters which I found in this charming town, my portraits would never be finished. I found everywhere, that hospitality, that affability, that friendship for the French which M. Castellux has so much exalted. I found them especially with Messrs. Breck, Russel, Gore, Barrett, etc.

The parts adjacent to Boston, are charming and well cultivated, adorned with elegant houses and agreeable situations. Among the surrounding eminences you distinguish Bunker Hill. This name will recall to your mind the famous Warren; one of the first martyrs of American liberty. I owed an homage to his generous manes; and I was eager to pay it. You arrive at Bunker Hill by the superb bridge at Charleston, of which I have spoken. This town was entirely burnt by the English, in their attack of Bunker Hill. It is at present rebuilt with elegant houses of wood. You see here the store of Mr. Gorham, formerly president of Congress. This hill offers one of the most astonishing monuments of American valor; it is impossible to conceive how seven or eight hundred men, badly armed, and fatigued, having just constructed, in haste, a few miserable entrenchments, and who knew nothing, or very lit-

tle, of the use of arms, could resist, for so long a time, the attack of thousands of the English troops, fresh, well disciplined, succeeding each other in the attack. But such was the vigorous resistance of the Americans, that the English lost 1,200 men, killed and wounded, before they became master of the place. Observe that they had two frigates, which, crossing their fire on Charleston, prevented the arrival of succour to the Americans. Yet it is very probable that the English would have been forced to retire, had not the Americans failed in ammunition.

While the friend of liberty is contemplating this scene, and dropping a tear to the memory of Warren, his emotions of enthusiasm are renewed on viewing the expressive picture of the death of that warrior, painted by Mr. Trumbull, whose talents may equal, one day, those of the most famous masters.

I must finish this long, and too long, letter. Many objects remain still to entertain you with in this State, such as the constitution, debts, taxes; but I refer them to the general table which I shall make of them for the United States. The taxable heads of this State are upwards of 100,000, acres of arable land 200,000, pasturage 340,000, uncultivated 2,000,000, tons of shipping at Boston 60,000.

### LETTER III.

#### JOURNEY FROM BOSTON TO NEW YORK BY LAND.

August 9, 1788.

The distance of these towns is about two hundred and fifty miles. Many persons have united in establishing a kind of diligence, or public stage, which passes regularly for the convenience of travellers. In the summer season, the journey is performed in four days.

We set out from Boston at four o'clock in the morning, and passed through the handsome town of Cambridge.



The country appears well cultivated as far as Weston, where we breakfasted; thence we passed to Worcester to dinner, forty-eight miles from Boston. This town is elegant, and well peopled: the printer, Isaiah Thomas, has rendered it famous through all the continent. He prints most of the works which appear; and it must be granted that his editions are correct. Thomas is the Didot of the United States. The tavern, where we had a good American dinner,\* is a charming house of wood, well ornamented; it is kept by Mr. Pease, one of the proprietors of the Boston stage. He has much merit for his activity and industry; but it is to be hoped he will change the present plan, so far as it respects his horses: they are over-done with the length and difficulty of the courses, which ruins them in a short time, besides retarding very much the progress.

We slept the first night at Spencer, a new village in the midst of the woods. The house of the tavern was but half built; but the part that was finished, had an air of cleanliness which pleases, because it announces that degree of competence, those moral and delicate habits, which are never seen in our villages. The chambers were neat, the beds good, the sheets clean, supper passable; cyder, tea, punch, and all for fourteen pence a head. There were four of us. Now, compare, my friend, this order of things with what you have a thousand times seen in our French taverns—chambers dirty and hideous, beds infected with bugs, those insects which Sterne calls the rightful inhabitants of taverns, if indeed long possession gives a right; sheets ill-washed, and exhaling a fedit odour; bad covering, wine adulterated, and every thing at its weight in gold; greedy servants, who are complaisant only in proportion to your

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\*If I sometimes cite dinners and suppers, it is not in memory of eating and drinking, but it is to show the manner of living of the country, and likewise to speak of the prices of provisions, so much exaggerated by Chastellux.

equipage; grovelling towards a rich traveller, and insolent towards him whom they suspect of mediocrity. Such are the eternal torments of travellers in France: add to this, the fear of being robbed, the precautions necessary to be taken every night to prevent it; while, in the United States, you travel without fear, as without arms,\* and you sleep quietly among the woods, in an open chamber of a house whose doors shut without locks. And now judge which country merits the name of civilized, and which bears the aspect of the greatest general happiness.

We left Spencer at four o'clock in the morning. New carriage, new proprietor. It was a carriage without springs, a kind of wagon. A Frenchman, who was with me, began, at the first jolt, to curse the carriage, the driver, and the country. Let us wait, said I, a little, before we form a judgment: every custom has its cause; there is doubtless some reason why this kind of carriage is preferred to one hung with springs. In fact, by the time we had run thirty miles among the rocks, we were convinced that a carriage with springs would very soon have been upset and broke.

The traveller is well recompensed for the the fatigue of this route, by the variety of romantic situations, by the beauty of the prospects which it offers at each step, by the perpetual contrast of savage nature and the efforts of art. Those vast ponds of water, which lose themselves in the woods; those rivulets, that wash the meadows, newly snatched from uncultivated nature; those neat houses, scattered among the forests, and containing swarms of children, joyous and healthy, and well clad; those fields, covered with trunks of trees, whose destruction is committed to the hand of time, and which are covered under

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\*I traveled with a Frenchman, who, thinking he had much to fear in a savage country, had furnished himself with pistols. The good American smiled at his precautions, and advised him to put his pistols in his trunk; he had wit enough to believe him.

the leaves of Indian corn; those oaks, which preserve still the image of their ancient vigor, but which, girdled at the bottom, raise no longer to heaven but dry and naked branches, which the first stroke of wind must bring to the earth—all these objects, so new to the European, arrest him, absorb him, and plunge him into an agreeable reverie. The depths of the forests, the prodigious size and height of the trees, call to his mind the time when the savages were the only inhabitants of this country. This ancient tree has beheld them; they filled these forests: they have now given place to another generation. The cultivator fears no more their vengeance; his musket, formerly his necessary companion at the plough, now rests suspended in his house. Alone, with his wife and children, in the midst of the forests, he sleeps quietly, he labours in peace, and he is happy. Such were the ideas which occupied me the greater part of my journey: they sometimes gave place to others, arising from the view of the country houses, which are seen at small distances through all the forests of Massachusetts. Neatness embellishes them all. They have frequently but one story and a garret; their walls are papered; tea and coffee appear on their tables; their daughters, clothed in calicoes, display the traits of civility, frankness, and decency, virtues which always follow contentment and ease. Almost all these houses are inhabited by men who are both cultivators and artisans; one is a tanner, another a shoemaker, another sells goods; but all are farmers. The country stores are well assorted; you find in the same shop, hats, nails, liquors. This order of things is necessary in a new settlement: it is to be hoped that it will continue; for this general retail occupies less hands, and detaches fewer from the great object of agriculture. It is not supposed that one-third of the land of Massachusetts is under cultivation: it is difficult to say

when it will all be so, considering the invitations of the western country and the province of Maine. But the uncleared lands are all located, and the proprietors have inclosed them with fences of different sorts. These several kinds of fences are composed of different materials, which announce the different degrees of culture in the country. Some are composed of the light branches of trees; others, of the trunks of trees laid one upon the other; a third sort is made of long pieces of wood, supporting each other by making angles at the end; a fourth kind is made of long pieces of hewn timber, supported at the ends by passing into holes made in an upright post; a fifth is like the garden fences in England; the last kind is made of stones thrown together to the height of three feet. This last is most durable, and is common in Massachusetts. From Spencer to Brookfield is fifteen miles. The road is good as far as this last town. A town you know in the interior of America designates an extent of eight or ten miles, where are scattered a hundred or two hundred houses. This division into towns, is necessary for assembling the inhabitants for elections and other purposes. Without this division the inhabitants might go sometimes to one assembly, and sometimes to another, which would lead to confusion. Besides, it would render it impossible to know the population of any particular canton; this serves for the basis of many regulations. No people carry their attention in this particular, so far as the Americans.

The situation of Brookfield is picturesque. While breakfast was preparing, I read the gazettes and journals, which are distributed through all the country. Our breakfast consisted of coffee, tea, boiled and roasted meat; the whole for ten pence, New England currency, for each traveller. From this place to Wilbraham the road is covered with rocks, and bordered with woods. At this place, a

new proprietor, and a new carriage. A small light carriage, well suspended, and drawn by two horses, took place of our heavy wagon. We could not conceive how five of us could sit in this little parisian chariot, and demanded another. The conductor said he had no other; that there were so few travellers in this part of the road, that he could not afford to run with more than two horses; that most of the travellers from New York stopped in Connecticut, and most of those from Boston at Worcester. We were obliged to submit. We started like lightning; and arrived in an hour and a quarter, at Springfield, ten miles. This road appeared really enchanting; I seemed the whole way to be travelling in one of the alleys of the palais-royal. This man was one of the most lively and industrious, at the same time the most patient, I ever met with. In my two journeys through this place, I have heard many travellers treat him with very harsh language; he either answers not at all or answers by giving good reasons. The greater part of the men of this profession, in this country, observe the same conduct in such cases; while the least of these injuries in Europe would have occasioned bloody quarrels. This fact proves to me, that, in a free country, reason extends her empire over all classes of men.

Springfield, where we dined, resembles an European town; that is, the houses are placed near together. On a hill that overlooks this town, is a magazine of ammunition and arms belonging to the State of Massachusetts. This is the magazine that the rebel Shays endeavored to take, and was so happily defended by General Shepard. We set out from Springfield, after dinner, for Hartford. We passed in a ferry-boat, the river that washes the environs of Springfield.

I have passed twice through Hartford, and both times in the night, so that I cannot give an exact description

of it. It is a considerable rural town; the greater part of the inhabitants live by agriculture, so that ease and abundance universally reign in it. It is considered as one of the most agreeable in Connecticut, on account of its society. It is the residence of one of the most respectable men in the United States, Colonel Wadsworth. He enjoys a considerable fortune, which he owes entirely to his own labor and industry. Perfectly versed in agriculture and commerce; universally known for the service he rendered to the American and French armies during the war; generally esteemed and beloved for his great virtues; he crowns all his qualities by an amiable and singular modesty. His address is frank, his countenance open, and his discourse simple. Thus you cannot fail to love him as soon as you see him, especially as soon as you know him. I here describe the impression he made on me.

M. de Chastellux, in making the eulogium of this respectable American, has fallen into an error which I ought to rectify. He says, that he has made many voyages to the coast of Guinea. It is incredible that this writer should persist in printing this as a fact, after Colonel Wadsworth begged him to suppress it. "To advance," said he, "that I have carried on the Guinea trade, is to give the idea that I have carried on the slave trade; whereas, I always had the greatest abhorance for this infamous traffic. I prayed M. de Chastellux, that in the edition he was about to publish in France, he would suppress this, as well as many other striking errors which appeared in the American edition of his work; and I cannot conceive why he has rectified nothing."

The environs of Hartford display a charming cultivated country, neat, elegant houses, vast meadows covered with herds of cattle of an enormous size, which furnish the market of New York, and even Philadelphia. You

see sheep resembling ours, but not like ours, watched by shepherds, and tormented by dogs; hogs of a prodigious size, surrounded with numerous families of pigs, wearing on the neck a triangular piece of wood, invented to hinder them from passing the barriers which inclose the cultivated fields; geese and turkeys in abundance, as well as potatoes and all other vegetables. Productions of every kind are excellent and cheap; the fruits, however, do not partake of this excellent quality, because they are less attended to. Apples serve for making cyder, and great quantities of them are likewise exported.

To describe the neighborhood of Hartford is to describe Connecticut; it is to describe the neighborhood of Middleton, of Newhaven, etc. Nature and art have here displayed all their treasures; it is really the paradise of the United States. M. de Crevecoeur, who has been so much reproached with exaggeration, is even below the truth in his description of this part of the country. Read again his charming picture, and this reading will supply the place of what it would be useless here to repeat.

This State owes all its advantages to its situation. It is a fertile plain, inclosed between two mountains, which render difficult its communications by land with the other States. It is washed by the superb river Connecticut, which falls into the sea, and furnishes a safe and easy navigation. Agriculture being the basis of the riches of this State, they are here more equally divided. There is here more equality, less misery, more simplicity, more virtue, more of everything which constitutes republicanism.

Connecticut appears like one continued town. On quitting Hartford, you enter Wethersfield, a town not less elegant, very long, consisting of houses well built. They tell me it gave birth to the famous Silas Deane, one

of the first promoters of the American revolution; from a schoolmaster in this town, elevated to the rank of an Envoy from Congress to Europe; he has since been accused of betraying this glorious cause. Is the accusation true or false? It is difficult to decide. But he has been for a long time miserable in London, and it is in favor of the goodness of heart of the Americans, to recount, that his best friends and benefactors are still among the ancient American Whigs.

Wethersfield is remarkable for its vast fields uniformly covered with onions, of which great quantities are exported to the West Indies. It is likewise remarkable for its elegant meeting-house or church. On Sunday, it is said to offer an enchanting spectacle, by the number of young, handsome persons who assemble there, and by the agreeable music with which they intermingle the divine service.

Newhaven yields not to Wethersfield for the beauty of the fair sex. At their balls during the winter, it is not rare to see an hundred charming girls, adorned with those brilliant complexions seldom met with in journeying to the South, and dressed in elegant simplicity. The beauty of complexion is as striking in Connecticut, as its numerous population. You will not go into a tavern without meeting with neatness, decency and dignity. The tables are served by a young girl, decent and pretty, by an amiable mother, whose age has not effaced the agreeableness of her features; by men who have that air of dignity which the idea of equality inspires, and who are not ignoble and base, like the greatest part of our tavern keepers. On the road you often meet those fair Connecticut girls, either driving a carriage, or alone on horseback, galloping boldly; with an elegant hat on the head, a white apron, and a calico gown—usages which prove at once



the early cultivation of their reason, since they are trusted so young to themselves, the safety of the road, and the general innocence of manners. You will see them hazarding themselves alone, without protectors, in the public stages—I am wrong to say hazarding; who can offend them? They are here under the protection of public morals, and of their own innocence; it is the consciousness of this innocence, which renders them so complaisant, and so good; for a stranger takes them by the hand, and laughs with them, and they are not offended at it.

Other proofs of the prosperity of Connecticut are the number of new houses everywhere to be seen, and the number of rural manufactories arising on every side, of which I shall speak hereafter. But even in this state there are many lands to sell. A principal cause of this is the taste for emigration to the western country. The desire of finding better, embitters the enjoyments even of the inhabitants of Connecticut. Perhaps this taste arises from the hope of escaping taxes, which, though small, and almost nothing in comparison with those of Europe, appear very heavy. In a country like the United States, everything favors the forming of new settlements. The new comers are sure, everywhere, of finding friends and brothers, who speak their own language, and admire, their courage. Provisions are cheap the whole way; they have nothing to fear from the search of custom-house clerks, on entering from one province to another, nor river tolls, nor imposts, nor vexations; man is free as the air he breathes. The taste for emigration is every day augmenting, by the accounts in the public papers of the arrival of different families. Man is like sheep everywhere: he says, Such an one has succeeded, why shall not I succeed? I am nothing here, I shall be something on the Ohio; I work hard here, I shall not work so hard there.

Before arriving at Middleton, where we were to breakfast, we stopped on the hill which overlooks that town and the immense valley in which it is built. It is one of the finest and richest prospects that I have seen in America. I could not satiate myself with the variety of the scenes which this landscape laid before me.

Middletown is built like Hartford: broad streets, trees on the sides, and handsome houses. We changed horses and carriages at Durham; and after admiring a number of picturesque situations on the road, we arrived at New-haven, where we dined. The university here enjoys a great reputation through the continent; the port is much frequented; the society is said to be very agreeable. New-haven has produced the celebrated poet, Trumbull\*, author of the immortal poem *M'Fingal*, which rivals, if not surpasses, in keen pleasantry, the famous *Hudibras*. Colonel Humphreys\*, whose poem, much esteemed in America, is translated by M. de Chastellux, is likewise a native of this town. The university is presided over by a respectable and learned man, Mr. Stiles. We were obliged to quit this charming town, to arrive in the evening at Fairfield. We passed the inconvenient ferry at Stratford; afterwards assailed by a violent storm, we were well enough defended from it by a double curtain of leather which covered the carriage. The driver, though pierced through with rain, continued his route through the obscurity of a very dark night. Heaven preserved us from accident, at which I was much astonished. We passed the night at Fairfield, a town unhappily celebrated in the last war. It experienced all the rage of the English, who burnt it. You perceive still the vestiges of this infernal fury. Most of the houses are rebuilt; but those who have seen this town before the war, regret its ancient state, and the air of ease, and even

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\*M. de Warville is here misinformed. Mr. Trumbull is a native of Waterbury, and Mr. Humphreys of Derby.

opulence, that then distinguished it. They showed me the house of the richest inhabitant, where all travelers of distinction met an hospitable reception; and where was often feasted the infamous Tryon, who commanded this expedition of cannibals. Forgetting all sentiments of gratitude and humanity, he treated with the last extremity of rigour the mistress of this house, who had received him as a friend; and after having given her his word for the safety of her house, he ordered it to be set on fire. At Fairfield finished the agreeable part of our journey. From this town to Rye, thirty-three miles, we had to struggle against rocks and precipices. I knew not which to admire most in the driver, his intrepidity or dexterity. I cannot conceive how he avoided twenty times dashing the carriage in pieces, and how his horses could retain themselves in descending the staircases of rocks. One of these is called Horseneck; a chain of rocks so steep, that if a horse should slip, the carriage must be thrown into a valley two or three hundred feet.

From Horseneck we passed to New Rochelle, a colony founded the last century by some French emigrants, which appears not to have prospered. Perhaps this appearance results from the last war; for this place suffered much from the neighbourhood of the English, whose head-quarters were at New York. This place, however, will always be celebrated for having given birth to one of the most distinguished men of the last revolution—a republican remarkable for his firmness and his coolness, a writer eminent for his nervous style, and his close logic, Mr. Jay, at present minister of foreign affairs.

The following anecdote will give an idea of the firmness of this republican: at the time of laying the foundation of the peace in 1783, M. de Vergennes, actuated by secret motives, wished to engage the ambassadors of Con-

gress to confine their demands to the fisheries, and to renounce the western territory; that is, the vast and fertile country beyond the Alleganey mountains. This Minister required particularly, that the independence of America should not be considered as the basis of the peace; but, simply, that it should be conditional. To succeed in this project, it was necessary to gain over Jay and Adams. Mr. Jay declared to M. de Vergennes, that he would sooner lose his life than sign such a treaty; that the Americans fought for independence; that they would never lay down their arms, till it should be fully consecrated; that the Court of France had recognized it, and that there would be a contradiction in her conduct, if she should deviate from that point. It was not difficult for Mr. Jay to bring Mr. Adams to this determination; and M. de Vergennes could never shake his firmness\*. Consider here the strange concurrence of events. The American, who forced the Court of France, and gave laws to the English minister, was the grandson of a French refugee of the last century who fled to New Rochelle. Thus the descendant of a man, whom Louis XIV. had persecuted with a foolish rage, imposed his decisions on the descendant of that sovereign, in his own palace, a hundred years after the banishment of the ancestor.

Mr. Jay was equally immovable by all efforts of the English minister, whom M. de Vergennes had gained to his party. He proved to him, that it was the interest of the English themselves, that the Americans should be independent, and not in a situation which should render them dependent on their ally. He converted him to this sentiment; for his reasoning determined the court of St. James'.

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\*The talents of Mr. Jay shone with distinguished lustre in the convention of the State of New York for examining the new Federal Constitution. Mr. Clinton, the Governor, at the head of the Anti-federalists, had at first a great majority; but he could not resist the logic of Mr. Jay, and the eloquence of Mr. Hamilton.

When Mr. Jay passed through England to return to America, Lord Shelbourne desired to see him. Accused by the nation of having granted too much to the Americans, he desired to know, in case he had persisted not to accord to the Americans the western territory, if they would have continued the war? Mr. Jay answered, that he believed it, and that he should have advised it.

It is thirty-one miles from Rye to New York. The road is good, even, and gravelly. We stopped at one of the best taverns I have seen in America. It is kept by Mrs. Haviland. We had an excellent dinner, and cheap. To other circumstances very agreeable, which gave us good cheer at this house, the air of the mistress was infinitely graceful and obliging; and she had a charming daughter, genteel and well educated, who played very well the forte-piano. Before arriving at New York, we passed by those places which the English had so well fortified while they were masters of them. You still see their different redoubts and fortifications, which attest to the eye of the observer the folly of this fratricidious war.

#### LETTER IV.

##### JOURNEY FROM BOSTON TO NEW YORK, BY PROVIDENCE\*

On the 12th of October, we set out from Boston at half past seven in the morning, and arrived by six in the evening at Providence. It is forty-nine miles; the road good, the soil stoney, gravelly and sandy, and, as usual for such a soil, covered with pines. The county bordering the road, appears neither fertile, nor well peopled: you may here see houses in decay, and children covered with rags. They had, however, good health, and good complexions. The silence which reigns in the other American towns on Sun-

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\*Though this journey was made after the date of several of the succeeding letters, it was thought best to insert it here, as an appendage to the other journey by land.

day, reigns at Providence even on Monday. Everything here announces the decline of business. Few vessels are to be seen in the port. They were building, however, two distilleries; as if the manufactories of this poison were not already sufficiently numerous in the United States. Whether it be from prejudice or reality, I seemed to perceive everywhere the silence of death, the effect of paper money. I seemed to see, in every face, the air of a Jew; the result of a traffic founded on fraud and finesse. I seemed to see, likewise, in every countenance, the effects of the contempt which the other States bear to this, and the consciousness or meriting that contempt. The paper-money at this time was at a discount of ten for one.

I went from Providence to Newport in a packet-boat. This journey might be made by land; but I preferred the water. We arrived in seven hours and a half; and during two hours we had contrary wind. This distance is thirty miles. We never lost sight of land; but it offers nothing picturesque or curious. A few houses, some trees, and a sandy soil, are all that appears to the eye.

The port of Newport is considered as one of the best in the United States. The bottom is good, the harbour capable of receiving the largest ships, and seems destined by nature to be of great consequence. This place was one of the principal scenes of the last war. The successive arrival of the American, English, and French armies, left here a considerable quantity of money.\*

Since the peace, every thing is changed†. The reign of solitude is only interrupted by groups of idle men, standing with folded arms at the corners of the streets; houses falling to ruin; miserable shops which present nothing but a few coarse stuffs, or baskets of apples, and other articles

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\*The English destroyed all the fine trees of ornament and fruit: they took a pleasure in devastation.

†This town owed a part of its prosperity to the slave trade, which is at present suppressed.

of little value; grass growing in the public square, in front of the court of justice; rags stuffed in the windows, or hung upon hideous women and lean, unquiet children.

Everything announces misery, the triumph of ill faith, and the influence of a bad government. You will have a perfect idea of it, by calling to mind the impression once made upon us on entering the city of Liege. Recollect the crowd of mendicants besieging us at every step, to implore charity; that irregular mass of Gothic houses falling to ruin, windows without glass, roofs half uncovered; recall to your mind the figures of men scarcely bearing the print of humanity, children in tatters, and houses hung with rags; in short, represent to yourself the asylum of famine, the rascallity and the impudence that general misery inspires, and you will recollect Liege, and have an image of Newport.

These two places are nevertheless well situated for commerce, and surrounded by lands by no means unfruitful; but at Liege, the productions of the country serve to fatten about fifty idle ecclesiastics, who, by the aid of ancient religious prejudices, riot in pleasure, in the midst of thousands of unhappy wretches who are dying with hunger.\* At Newport, the people, deceived by two or three knaves, have brought on their own misery, and destroyed the blessings which Nature had lavished upon them. They have themselves sanctified fraud; and this act has rendered them odious to their neighbours, driven commerce from their doors, and labour from their fields.

Read again, my friend, the charming description given of this town and this State, by M. de Crevecoeur. It is not exaggerated. Every American whom I have questioned on this subject, has described to me its ancient splendor,

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\*When I wrote these lines, I was far from foreseeing the revolutions of Liege. Liberty displays her banners there. God grant that she may triumph, and achieve her work.

and its natural advantages, whether for commerce, agriculture, or the enjoyments of life.

The State of Rhode Island will never again see those happy days, till they take from circulation their paper-money, and reform their government. The magistrates should be less dependent on the people than they are at present, and the members of the legislature should not be so often elected. It is inconceivable that so many honest people should groan under the present anarchy; that so many Quakers, who compose the basis of the population of this State, should not combine together to introduce this reform\* If this reform is not speedily executed, I doubt not but the State will be unpeopled. A great part of the emigration for the settlement at Muskingum on the Ohio, is from this State. General Varnum is at their head. A number of families are preparing to join them. Nearly all the honest people of Newport would quit the place, if they could sell their effects. I doubt not, likewise, but the example of Rhode Island will be a proof, in the eyes of many people, that republican government is disastrous. This would be a wrong conclusion—this example only proves, that there should not be a too frequent rotation in the legislative power, and that there ought to be stability in the executive; that there is as much danger in placing the magistrates in a state of too great dependence on the people, as there is in making them too independent. It argues, in fact, against a pure democracy, but not against a representative democracy; for a representation of six months is but a government by the people themselves. Representation, in this case, is but a shadow, which passes too suddenly to be perceived, or to feel its own existence. Of consequence, this example proves nothing against the wise system of representation, more durable, more inde-

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\*The author is happy to find that before the publication of this letter this state had acceded to the new government.



pendent, and which constitutes the true republican government, such as that of the other United States. But in the midst of these disorders, you hear nothing of robberies, of murders, or of mendicity; for the American poor does not degrade himself so far as to abjure all ideas of equity, and all shame. And this is a trait which still marks a difference between Newport and Liege; the Rhode Islander does not beg, and he does not steal—the ancient American blood still runs in his veins.

I was detained at Newport by the southwest winds, till the 13th, when we set sail at midnight; the Captain not wishing to sail sooner, for fear of touching before day on Block-Island. The wind and tide carried us at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour; and we should have arrived at New York the next evening, but we were detained at Hell-Gate, a kind of gulph, eight miles from New York. This is a narrow passage, formed by the approach of Long Island to York Island, and rendered horrible by rocks, concealed at high water. The whirlpool of this gulp is little perceived at low water; but it is not surprising that vessels which know it not, should be dashed in pieces. They speak of an English frigate lost there in the last war. This Hell-Gate is an obstacle to the navigation of this strait; but it is not rare in summer to run from Newport to New York, two hundred miles, in twenty hours. As you approach this city, the coasts or these two islands present the most agreeable spectacle. They are adorned with elegant country-houses. Long Island is celebrated for its high state of cultivation. The price of passage and your table from Providence to New York is six dollars.

I ought to say one word of the packet-boats of this part of America, and of the facilities which they offer. Though, in my opinion, it is more advantageous, and often less expensive, to go by land; yet I owe some praises to the

cleanliness and good order observable in these boats. The one which I was in contained fourteen beds, ranged in two rows, one above the other; every one had its little window. The chamber was well aired; so that you do not breathe that nauseous air which infects the packets of the English channel. It was well varnished; and two close corners were made in the poop, which serve as private places. The provisions were good. There is not a little town on all this coast, but what has this kind of packets going to New York; such as, Newhaven, New London, etc. They have all the same neatness, the same embellishment, the same convenience for travellers. You may be assured, that there is nothing like it on the old continent.

## LETTER V

ON NEW YORK

August, 1788.

I have read again, my dear friend, the description given by Mr. Crevecoeur, of this part of the United States; and after having compared all the articles of it with what I have seen, I must declare, that all the traits of his picture are just.

Nothing is more magnificent than the situation of this town—between two majestic rivers, the north and the east. The former separates it from New Jersey; it is so profound, that ships of the line anchor in it. I have at this moment under my eyes, a French ship of 1200 tons, destined to the East India trade, which has come into it to refit. Two inconveniences are, however, experienced in this river; the descent of ice in the winter, and the force of the northwest wind. Ships mount this commodious river as far as Albany, a town situated an hundred and seventy miles from New York.

Albany will yield very soon, in prosperity, to a town called Hudson, built on a spot where, four years ago, there

was only a simple farm-house. At present, it contains an hundred good dwelling-houses, a court-house, public fountains, etc. More than fifty ships are owned there, which export the American productions to the Islands and to Europe. Two whaling ships are of the number. Their vessels do not winter idly, like those of Albany, in the port. They trade in the West Indies during this season. Poughkeepsie, on the same river, has doubled its population and its commerce since the war. The inattention of the people of Albany to foreign commerce, may be attributed to the fertility of their lands. Agriculture abounds there, and they like not to hazard themselves to the dangers of the sea, for a fortune which they can draw from the bounty of the soil which surrounds them. The fertility of the uncultivated lands, and the advantages which they offer, attract settlers to this quarter. New settlements are forming here; but slowly, because other states furnish lands, if not as fertile, at least attended with more advantages for agriculture, as they are less exposed to the excessive rigours of so long a winter.

When this part of America shall be well peopled, the north river will offer one of the finest channels for the exportation of its productions. Navigable for more than two hundred miles from the ocean, it communicates with the river Mohawk, with the lakes Oneida, Ontario, Erie, and all that part of Canada. The falls which are found in this route may be easily vanquished by canals, so easy to construct in a country abounding with men and money. This river communicates with Canada in another quarter, by the lakes George and Champlaine. It is this situation which will render New York the channel of the fur-trades, at least during the existence of this kind of commerce, which supposes the existence of savages, and great quantities of uncultivated lands.

By the East River, New York communicates with Long Island, and with all the Eastern States. Ships of the line anchor likewise in this river, and near the quay, where they are sheltered from the storms which sometimes ravage these coasts. This happy situation of New York will explain to you the causes why the English give it the preference over the other parts of America. Being the great market for Connecticut and New Jersey, it pours in upon those States the productions of the East Indies, and of Europe. It is difficult to obtain an account of the exportations and importations of this State. Colonel Lamb, who is at the head of the custom-house, envelopes all his operations in the most profound mystery; it is an effect of the Dutch spirit, which still governs this city. The Dutchman conceals his gains and his commerce; he lives but for himself. I have been able, however, to procure some details, which you will find in the general table, of the commerce of the United States. The English have a great predilection for this city, and for its productions; thus its port is always covered with English ships. They prefer even its wheat; so that the American merchants bring wheat from Virginia, and sell it for that of New York.

The presence of Congress with the diplomatic body and the concourse of strangers, contributes much to extend here the ravages of luxury. The inhabitants are far from complaining at it; they prefer the splendour of wealth, and the show of enjoyment, to the simplicity of manners, and the pure pleasures resulting from it. The usage of smoking has not disappeared in this town, with the other customs of their fathers, the Dutch. They smoke cigars, which come from the Spanish Islands. They are leaves of tobacco, rolled in form of a tube, of six inches long, which are smoked without the aid of any instrument. This usage is revolting to the French. It may appear disagreeable

to the women, by destroying the purity of the breath. The philosopher condemns it, as it is a superfluous want.

It has, however, one advantage; it accustoms to meditation, and prevents loquacity. The smoker asks a question; the answer comes two minutes after, and it is well founded. The cigar renders to a man the service that the philosopher drew from the glass of water, which he drank when he was in anger.

The great commerce of this city, and the facility of living here, augments the population of the State with great rapidity. In 1773, they reckoned 148,124 whites; in 1786, the number was 219,996.

If there is a town on the American continent where the English luxury displays its follies, it is New York. You will find here the English fashions. In the dress of the women, you will see the most brilliant silks, gauzes, hats, and borrowed hair. Equipages are rare; but they are elegant. The men have more simplicity in their dress; they disdain gewgaws; but they take their revenge in the luxury of the table.

Luxury forms already, in this town, a class of men very dangerous in society—I mean bachelors. The expence of women causes matrimony to be dreaded by men.

Tea forms, as in England, the basis of the principal parties of pleasure. Fruits, though more attended to in this State, are far from possessing the beauty and goodness of those of Europe. I have seen trees, in September, loaded at once with apples and with flowers.

M. de Crevecoeur is right in his description of the abundance and good quality of provisions at New York, in vegetables, flesh, and especially in fish. It is difficult to unite so many advantages in one place. Provisions are dearer at New York, than in any other of the northern or middle States. Many things, especially those of luxury,

are dearer here than in France. A hair-dresser asks twenty shillings per month; washing costs four shillings for a dozen pieces.

Strangers, who, having lived a long time in America, tax the Americans with cheating, have declared to me, that this accusation must be confined to the towns, and that in the country you will find them honest. The French are the most forward in making these complaints; and they believe that the Americans are more trickish with them than with the English. If this were a fact, I should not be astonished at it. The French, whom I have seen, are eternally crying up the services which their nation has rendered to the Americans, and opposing their manners and customs, decrying their government, exalting the favours rendered by the French government towards the Americans, and diminishing these of Congress to the French.

One of the greatest errors of travellers is to calculate prices of provisons in a country, by the prices in taverns and boarding-houses. It is a false basis; we should take, for the town, the price at the market, and this is about half the price that one pays at the tavern. This basis would still be false, if it were applied to the country. There are many articles which are abundant in the country, and are scarcely worth the trouble of collecting and bringing to market. These reflections appear to me necessary to put one on his guard against believing too readily in the prices estimated by hasty travellers. Other circumstances likewise influence the price; such, for example, as war, which Mr. Chastellux takes no notice of in his exaggerated account of American prices.

These prices were about double in New York during the war, to what they are now. Boarding and lodging by the week, is from four to six dollars. The fees of lawyers are out of all proportion; they are, as in England, excessive.

Physicians have not the same advantage in this respect as lawyers; the good health generally enjoyed here, renders them little necessary; yet they are sufficiently numerous.

I conversed with some of them, and asked what were the diseases most common. They told me, bilious fevers; and that the greatest part of diseases among them, were occasioned by excessive cold, and the want of care; but there are few diseases here, added they. The air is pure, the inhabitants are tolerably temperate; the people in good circumstances, are not sufficiently rich to give themselves up to those debaucheries which kill so many in Europe, and there are no poor, provisions being so cheap.

Let those men who doubt the prodigious effects that liberty produces on man, and on his industry, transport themselves to America. What miracles will they here behold! Whilst everywhere in Europe the villages and towns are falling to ruin, rather than augmenting, new edifices are here rising on all sides. New York was in great part consumed by fire in the time of the war. The vestiges of this terrible conflagration disappear; the activity which reigns everywhere, announces a rising prosperity; they enlarge in every quarter, and extend their streets. Elegant buildings, in the English style, take place of those sharp-roofed sloping houses of the Dutch. You find some still standing in the Dutch style; they afford some pleasure to the European observer; they trace to him the origin of this colony, and the manners of those who inhabit it, whilst they call to his mind the ancient Belgic State.

I walk out by the side of the North River; what a rapid change in the space of six weeks! The river is forced back 200 feet, and, by a simple mechanism, they have constructed a kind of encasement, composed of large trunks of trees, crossing each other at convenient distances, and fastened together by strong beams. They conduct this floating

dyke to the place where it is to be fixed, and where there is often forty feet of water. Arrived at its destination, it is sunk with an enormous weight of stones. On all sides, houses are raising, and streets extending; I see nothing but busy workmen building and repairing.

At the same time they are erecting a building for Congress. They are likewise repairing the hospital; this building is in a bad condition; not a sick person could be lodged in it at the end of the war; it was a building almost abandoned; they have restored the administration of it to the Quakers, from whom it had been taken away during the war; they have ordered it to be repaired, and the reparations are executing with the greatest vigor. This building is vast; it is of brick, and perfectly well-situated on the bank of the North River. It enjoys every advantage; air the most salubrious, that may be renewed at pleasure; water in abundance; pleasant and extensive walks for the sick; magnificent and agreeable prospects; out of the town, and yet sufficiently near it.

It is likewise to the Quakers, to these men so much calumniated, of whom I shall speak more fully hereafter, that is owing the order observable in the work-house, of which they have the superintendance.

It is to their zeal that is to be attributed the formation of the society for the abolition of slavery. As I shall consecrate to this important article a particular chapter, I shall not speak of it here.

A society of a more pompous title, but whose services are less real, has been lately formed. Its object is the general promotion of science and useful knowledge. They assemble rarely, and they do nothing. They have, however, eight hundred pounds in the bank, which remains idle. Their president is Governor Clinton; and he is any other thing rather than a man of learning.



This society will have little success here—the Dutch are no lovers of letters.

But though men of learning do not abound in this city, the presence of Congress attracts, from time to time, at least from all parts of America, the most celebrated men. I have seen particularly, Messrs. Jay, Maddison, Hamilton, King, and Thornton. I have already spoke to you of the first.

The name of Maddison, celebrated in America, is well known in Europe, by the merited elogium made of him by his countryman and friend, Mr. Jefferson.

Though still young, he has rendered the greatest services to Virginia, to the American confederation, and to liberty and humanity in general. He contributed much, with Mr. White, in reforming the civil and criminal codes of his country. He distinguished himself particularly, in the conventions for the acceptation of the new federal system. Virginia balanced a long time in adhering to it. Mr. Maddison determined to it the members of the convention, by his eloquence and his logic. This republican appears to be but about thirty-three years of age. He had, when I saw him, an air of fatigue; perhaps it was the effect of the immense labours to which he has devoted himself for some time past. His look announces a censor; his conversation discovers the man of learning; and his reserve was that of a man conscious of his talents and of his duties.

During the dinner, to which he invited me, they spoke of the refusal of North Carolina to accede to the new constitution. The majority against it was one hundred. Mr. Maddison believed that this refusal would have no weight on the minds of the Americans, and that it would not impede the operations of Congress. I told him, that though this refusal might be regarded as a trifle in America, it would have great weight in Europe; that they would never

enquire there into the motives which dictated it, nor consider the small consequence of this State in the confederation; that it would be regarded as a germe of division, calculated to retard the operations of Congress; and that certainly this idea would prevent the resurrection of the American credit.

Mr. Maddison attributed this refusal to the attachment of a great part of the inhabitants of that State to their paper-money, and their tender-act. He was much inclined to believe, that this disposition would not remain a long time.

Mr. Hamilton is the worthy fellow-labourer of Mr. Maddison; his figure announces a man of thirty-eight or forty years; he is not tall; his countenance is decided; his air is open and martial; he was aide-de-camp to General Washington, who had great confidence in him; and he well merited it. Since the peace, he has taken the profession of the law, and devoted himself principally to public affairs. He has distinguished himself in Congress, by his eloquence, and the solidity of his reasoning. Among the works which have come from his pen, the most distinguished are, a number of letters inserted in the *Federalist*, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter; and the letters of Phocion, in favour of the royalists. Mr. Hamilton had fought them with success during the war. At the establishment of peace, he was of opinion, that it was not best to drive them to despair by a rigorous persecution. And he had the happiness to gain over to these mild sentiments, those of his compatriots, whose resentment had been justly excited against these people, for the woes they had brought on their country.

This young orator triumphed again in the convention of the State of New York, where the anti-federal party was numerous. When the convention was formed at Pough-

keepsie, three quarters of the members were opposed to the new system. Mr. Hamilton, joining his efforts to those of the celebrated Jay, succeeded in convincing the most obstinate, that the refusal of New York would entrain the greatest misfortunes to that State, and to the Confederation. The constitution was adopted; the feast which followed the ratification in New York, was magnificent; the ship *Federalist*, which was drawn in procession, was named *Hamilton*, in honour of this eloquent speaker.

He has married the daughter of General Schuyler, a charming woman, who joins to the graces all the candour and simplicity of an American wife. At dinner, at his house, I found General Mifflin, who distinguished himself for his activity in the last war. To the vivacity of a Frenchman, he appears to unite every obliging characteristic.

Mr. King, whom I saw at this dinner, passes for the most eloquent man of the United States. What struck me most in him was his modesty. He appears ignorant of his own worth. Mr. Hamilton has the determined air of a republican. Mr. Maddison the meditative air of a profound politician.

At this dinner, as at most others which I made in America, they drank the health of M. de la Fayette. The Americans consider him as one of the heroes of their liberty. He merits their love and esteem; they have not a better friend in France. His generosity to them has been manifested on all public occasions, and still more in private circumstances, where benefits remain unknown. It is not, perhaps, to the honour of France, or the Frenchmen who have been in America, to recount the fact, that he is the only one who has succoured the unhappy sufferers in the fire at Boston,\* and the only one whose doors are open to the Americans.

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\*He gave L. 300 sterling.

Doctor Thornton, intimately connected with the Americans whom I have mentioned, runs a different career, that of humanity. Though, by his appearance, he does not belong to the Society of Friends, he has their principles, and practices their morals with regard to the blacks. He told me the efforts which he has made for the execution of a vast project conceived by him for their benefit. Persuaded that there never can exist a sincere union between the whites and blacks, even on admitting the latter to the rights of freemen, he proposes to send them back, and establish them in Africa. This plan is frightful at the first aspect; but, on examination, it appears to be necessary and advantageous. I shall not enter upon it here, but reserve it for my letter on the state of the blacks in this country. Mr. Thornton, who appears, by his vivacity and his agreeable manners, to belong to the French nation, was born at Antigua; his mother has a plantation there. It is there that, instead of hardening his heart to the fate of the negroes, as most of the planters do, he has acquired that humanity, that compassion for them, with which he is so much tormented. He told me, he should have set his slaves at liberty, if it had been in his power; but not being able to do this, he treats them like men.

I cannot finish this letter without speaking of another American, whose talents in finance are well known here; it is Colonel Duer, secretary to the board of treasury. It is difficult to unite to a great facility in calculation, more extensive views and a quicker penetration into the most complicated projects. To these qualities he joins goodness of heart; and it is to his obliging character, and his zeal, that I owe much valuable information on the finances of this country, which I shall communicate hereafter.

I should still be wanting in gratitude, should I neglect to mention the politeness and attention shewed me by the President of Congress, Mr. Griffin. He is a Virginian, of

very good abilities, of an agreeable figure, affable, and polite. I saw at his house, at dinner, seven or eight women, all dressed in great hats, plumes, etc. It was with pain that I remarked much of pretension in some of these women; one acted the giddy, vivacious; another, the woman of sentiment. This last had many pruderies and grimaces. Two among them had their bosoms very naked. I was scandalized at this indecency among republicans.

A President of Congress is far from being surrounded with the splendour of European monarchs; and so much the better. He is not durable in his station; and so much the better. He never forgets that he is a simple citizen, and will soon return to the station of one. He does not give pompous dinners; and so much the better. He has fewer parasites, and less means of corruption.

I remarked, that his table was freed from many usages observed elsewhere—no fatiguing presentations, no toasts, so despairing in a numerous society. Little wine was drank after the women had retired. These traits will give you an idea of the temperance of this country; temperance, the leading virtue of republicans.

I ought to add one word on the finances of this State. The facility of raising an impost on foreign commerce, puts them in a situation to pay, with punctuality, the expenses of the Government, the interest of their State debt, and their part of the civil list of Congress. Their revenues are said to amount to L. 80,000, money of New York. The expenses of the city and county of New York amounted, in 1787, to one-eighth of this sum, that is, to L. 10,110. I will add here a state of these expences:

Salaries .....	L.	37	10	..
Elections .....		62	12	..

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Carried over .....L. 100 2 ..

Brought over . . . .L.	100	2	..
Pumps and wells . . . .	204	8	4
Roads and streets . . . .	734	2	1
Poor houses . . . . .	3,791	14	4
Bridewell, or house of correction . . . . .	899	11	4
Lamps . . . . .	1,439	19	..
Night watch . . . . .	1,931	2	..
Prisoners . . . . .	372	18	10
Repairs of public build- ings . . . . .	342	15	11
Quays . . . . .	25	..	..
City of New York . . . .	137	19	..
County of New York ..	130	9	..

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L.10,110    1    10

The bank of New York enjoys a good reputation; it is well administered. Its cashier is Mr. William Seton, to whom Mr. de Crevecoeur has addressed his letters; and what will give you a good idea of his integrity, is, that he was chosen to this important place notwithstanding his known attachment to the English cause. This bank receives and pays, without reward, for merchants and others, who choose to open an account with it.

## LETTER VI

### JOURNEY FROM NEW YORK TO PHILADELPHIA

I went from New York the 25th of August, at six o'clock in the morning; and had the north river to pass before arriving at the stage. We passed the ferry in an open boat, and landed at Paulus Hook; they reckon two miles for this ferry, for which we pay sixpence, money of New York.

The carriage is a kind of open wagon, hung with double curtains of leather and woollen, which you raise or let fall at pleasure; it is not well suspended. But the road was so fine, being sand and gravel, that we felt no inconvenience from that circumstance. The horses are good, and go with rapidity. These carriages have four benches, and may contain twelve persons. The light baggage is put under the benches, and the trunks fixed on behind. A traveller who does not choose to take the stage, has a one-horse carriage by himself.

Let the Frenchmen who have travelled in these carriages, compare them to those used in France; to those heavy diligences, where eight or ten persons are stuffed in together; to those cabriolets in the environs of Paris, where two persons are closely confined, and deprived of air, by a dirty driver, who torments his miserable jades; and those carriages have to run over the finest roads, and yet make but one league an hour. If the Americans had such roads, with what rapidity would they travel? since, notwithstanding the inconvenience of the roads, they now run ninety-six miles a day. Thus, with only a century and a half of existence, and opposed by a thousand obstacles, they are already superior to people who have been undisturbed in their progress of fifteen centuries.

You find in these stages, men of all professions. They succeed each other with rapidity. One who goes but twenty miles, yields his place to one who goes farther. The mother and daughter mount the stage to go ten miles to dine; another stage brings them back. At every instant, then, you are making new acquaintances. The frequency of these carriages, the facility of finding places in them, and the low and fixed price, invite the Americans to travel. These carriages have another advantage, they keep up the idea of equality. The member of Congress is placed by the

side of the shoemaker who elected him; they fraternize together, and converse with familiarity. You see no person here taking upon himself those important airs, which you too often meet with in France. In that country, a man of condition would blush to travel in a diligence; it is an ignoble carriage; one knows not with whom he may find himself. Besides, it is in style to run post; this style serves to humiliate those who are condemned to a sad mediocrity. From this inequality result envy, the taste for luxury, ostentation, an avidity for gain, the habit of mean and guilty measures to acquire wealth. It is then fortunate for America, that the nature of things prevents this distinction in the mode of travelling.

The artizan, or the labourer, who finds himself in one of these stages with a man in place, composes himself, is silent; or if he endeavors to rise to the level of others by taking part in the conversation, he at least gains instruction. The man in place has less haughtiness, and is facilitated in gaining a knowledge of the people.

The son of Governor Livingston was in the stage with me; I should not have found him out, so civil and easy was his air, had not the tavern-keepers from time to time addressed him with respectful familiarity. I am told that the governor himself often uses those stages. You may have an idea of this respectable man, who is at once a writer, a governor, and a plowman, on learning that he takes a pride in calling himself a New Jersey farmer.

The American stages, then, are the true political carriages. I know that the *petits maitres* of France would prefer a gay, well suspended chariot; but these carriages roll in countries of Bastilles, in countries afflicted with great inequality, and consequently with great misery.

The road from New York to Newark is in part over a marsh; I found it really astonishing; it recalls to mind



the indefatigable industry of the ancient Dutch settlers, mentioned by Mr. de Crevecoeur. Built wholly of wood, with much labour and perseverance in the midst of water, on a soil that trembles under your feet, it proves to what point may be carried the patience of man, who is determined to conquer nature.

But though much of these marshes are drained, there remains a large extent of them covered with stagnant waters, which infect the air, and give birth to those mosquitoes with which you are cruelly tormented, and to an epidemical fever which makes great ravages in summer; a fever known likewise in Virginia and in the Southern States, in part adjacent to the sea. I am assured that the upper parts of New Jersey are exempt from this fever, and from mosquitoes; but this State is ravaged by a political scourge, more terrible than either; it is paper money. This paper is still, in New Jersey, what the people call a legal tender; that is, you are obliged to receive it at its nominal value, as a legal payment.

I saw, in this journey, many inconveniences resulting from this fictitious money. It gives birth to an infamous kind of traffic, that of buying and selling it, by deceiving the ignorant; a commerce which discourages industry, corrupts the morals, and is a great detriment to the public. This kind of stock-jobber is the enemy to his fellow-citizens. He makes a science of deceiving; and this science is extremely contagious. It introduces a general distrust. A person can neither sell his land, nor borrow money upon it; for sellers and lenders may be paid in a medium which may still depreciate, they know not to what degree it may depreciate. A friend dares not trust his friend. Instances of perfidy of this kind have been known, that are horrible. Patriotism is consequently at an end, cultivation languishes, and commerce declines. How is it pos-

sible, said I to Mr. Livingston, that a country, so rich, can have recourse to paper money? New Jersey furnishes productions in abundance to New York and Philadelphia. She draws money, then, constantly from those places; she is their creditor. And shall a creditor make use of a resource which can be proper only for a miserable debtor? How is it that the members of your legislature have not made these reflections? The reason of it is very simple, replied he: At the close of the ruinous war, that we have experienced, the greater part of our citizens were burdened with debts. They saw, in this paper money, the means of extricating themselves; and they had influence enough with their representatives to force them to create it. But the evil falls at length on the authors of it, said I; they must be paid themselves, as well as pay others, in this same paper; and why do they not see that it dishonours their country, that it ruins all kinds of honest industry, and corrupts the morals of the people? Why do they not repeal their legal tender? A strong interest opposes it replied he, of stock-jobbers and speculators. They wish to prolong this miserable game, in which they are sure to be the winners, though the ruin of their country should be the consequence. We expect relief only from the new constitution, which takes away from the States the power of making paper money. All honest people wish the extinction of it, when silver and gold would re-appear; and our national industry would soon repair the ravages of the war.

From Newark we went to dine at New Brunswick; and to sleep at Trenton. The road is bad between the two last places, especially after a rain; it is a road difficult to be kept in repair. We passed by Prince-Town; this part of New Jersey is very well cultivated. Mr. de Crevecoeur has not exaggerated in his description of it. All

the towns are well built, whether in wood, stone, or brick. These places are too well known in the military annals of this country, to require that I should speak of them. The taverns are much dearer on this read, than in Massachusetts and Connecticut; I paid at Trenton, for a dinner, three shillings and sixpence, money of Pennsylvania.

We passed the ferry from Trenton at seven in the morning. The Delaware, which separates Pennsylvania from New Jersey, is a superb river, navigable for the largest ships. Its navigation is intercepted by the ice during two months in the year. Vessels are not attacked here by those worms, which are so destructive to them in rivers farther south.

The prospect from the middle of the river is charming; on the right, you see mills and manufactories; on the left, two charming little towns, which overlook the water. The borders of this river are still in their wild state. In the forests, which cover them, are some enormous trees. There are likewise some houses; but they are not equal, in point of simple elegance, to those of Massachusetts.

We breakfasted at Bristol, a town opposite to Burlington. It was here that the famous Penn first planted his tabernacles. But it was represented to him, that the river here did not furnish anchoring ground so good and so safe as the place already inhabited by the Swedes, where Philadelphia has since been built. He resolved, then, to purchase this place of them, give them other lands in exchange, and to leave Bristol.

Passing the river Shammony, on a new bridge, and then the village of Frankford, we arrived at Philadelphia, by a fine road bordered with the best cultivated fields, and elegant houses, which announce the neighbourhood of a great town.

## LETTER VII

## JOURNEY TO BURLINGTON

August 27, 1788.

I had passed but few hours at Philadelphia, when a particular business called me to Burlington, on the borders of the Delaware. It is an elegant little town, more ancient than Philadelphia. Many of the inhabitants are Friends, or Quakers; this was formerly their place of general rendezvous.

From thence I went to the country-house of Mr. Temple Franklin. He is the grandson of the celebrated Franklin; and as well known in France for his amiable qualities, as for his general information. His house is five miles from Burlington, on a sandy soil, covered with a forest of pines. His house is simple, his garden is well kept, he has a good library, and his situation seems destined for the retreat of a philosopher.

I dined here with five or six Frenchmen, who began their conversation with invectives against America and the Americans, against their want of laws, their paper-money, and their ill faith. I defended the Americans, or rather I desired to be instructed by facts; for I was determined no more to believe in the opinions of individuals.

You wish for facts, said one of them, who had existed in this country for three years: I will give you some I say that the country is a miserable one. In New Jersey, where we now are, there is no money, there is nothing but paper. The money is locked up, said Mr. Franklin. Would you have a man be fool enough to exchange it for depreciated rags? Wait till the law shall take the paper from circulation. But you cannot borrow money on the best security. I believe it, said Mr. Franklin; the lender fears to be paid in paper. These facts prove not the scarcity

of money, but the prudence of those who hold it, and the influence that debtors have in the legislature.

They passed to another point. Your laws are arbitrary, and often unjust; for instance, there is a law laying a tax of a dollar on the second dog; and this tax augments in proportion to the number that a man keeps. Thus a labourer has need of dogs; but he is deprived of their succour. He has no need of them, said Mr. Franklin, he keeps them but for his pleasure; and if any thing ought to be taxed, it is pleasure. The dogs are injurious to the sheep; instead of defending them, they often kill them. I was one of the first to solicit this law, because we are infested with dogs from this quarter. To get rid of them, we have put a tax on them, and it has produced salutary effects. The money arising from this tax, is destined to indemnify those whose sheep are destroyed by these animals.

My Frenchman returned to the charge: But your taxes are extremely heavy. You shall judge of that, says Mr. Franklin. I have an estate here of five or six hundred acres; my taxes last year amounted to eight pounds, in paper money; this reduced to hard money, is six pounds.

Nothing can be more conclusive than those replies. I am sure, however, that this Frenchman has forgot them all, and that he will go and declare to France, that the taxes in New Jersey are distressingly heavy, and that the imposition on dogs is abominable.

Burlington is separated from Bristol only by the river. Here is some commerce, and some men of considerable capital. The children here have that air of health and decency, which characterises the sect of the Quakers.

## LETTER VIII

August 28, 1788.

On returning from Burlington, I went with Mr. Shoemaker to the house of his father-in-law, Mr. Richardson, a

farmer, who lives near Middleton, twenty-two miles from Philadelphia.

Mr. Shoemaker is thirty years of age; he was not educated in the sect of Friends; he declared to me that, in his youth, he was far from their principles; that he had lived in pleasure; that growing weary of them, he had reflected on his conduct, and resolved to change it; that he studied the principles of the Quakers, and soon became a member of their society, notwithstanding the raileries of his friends. He had married the daughter of this Quaker, to whose house we were going. I wished to see a true American farmer.

I was really charmed with the order and neatness of this house, and of its inhabitants. They have three sons and seven daughters. One of the latter only is married; three others are marriageable. They are beautiful, easy in their manners, and decent in their deportment. Their dress is simple; they wear fine cotton on Sunday, and that which is not so fine on other days. These daughters aid their mother in the management of the family. The mother has much activity; she held in her arms a little granddaughter, which was caressed by all the children. It is truly a patriarchal family. The farmer is occupied constantly in the fields. We conversed much on the Society of Friends, the Society in France for the abolition of slavery, the growing of wheat, etc.

No, never was I so much edified as in this house; it is the asylum of union, friendship, and hospitality. The beds were neat, the linen white, the covering elegant; the cabinets, desks, chairs, and tables, were of black walnut, well polished, and shining. The garden furnished vegetables of all kinds and fruits. There were ten horses in the stable; the Indian corn of the last year, still on the cob, lay in large quantities in a cabin, of which the narrow

planks, placed at small distances from each other, leave openings for the circulation of the air.

The barn was full of wheat, oats, etc.; their cows furnish delicious milk for the family, of which they make excellent cheeses; their sheep give them the wool of which the cloth is made, which covers the father and the children. This cloth is spun in the house, wove and fulled in the neighborhood. All the linen is made in the house.

Mr. Shoemaker showed me the place where this worthy cultivator was going to build a house for his eldest son. You see, says he to me, the wealth of this good farmer. His father was a poor Scotchman; he came to America, and applied himself to agriculture, and by his industry and economy amassed a large fortune. This son of his is likewise rich, he sells his grain to a miller in the neighborhood; his vegetables, butter, and cheese, are sent once a week to town.

I went to see this miller. I recollected what Mr. de Crevecoeur had said in praise of the American mills. This one merited it for its neatness, and for the intelligence with which the different operations were distributed. There were three sets of stone destined to the making of flour of different degrees of fineness. They employ only the stones of France for the first quality of flour. They are exported from Bordeaux and Rouen. In these mills they have multiplied the machinery, to spare hand-labour in all the operations; such as, hoisting the wheat, cleaning it, raising the flour to the place where it is to be spread, collecting it again into the chamber, where it is to be put in barrels. These barrels are marked at the mill with the name of the miller; and this mark indicates the quality of the flour. That which is designed for exportation, is again inspected at the port; and, if not merchantable, it is condemned.

The millers here are flour merchants; mills are a kind of property which ensures a constant income.

## LETTER IX

VISIT FROM THE GOOD WARNER MIFLIN

August 30, 1788.

I was sick, and Warner Miflin came to see me. You know Warner Miflin; you have read the eulogium made of him by M. de Crevecoeur. It is he that first freed all his slaves; it is he who, without a passport, traversed the British army, and spoke to General Howe with so much firmness and dignity; it is he who, fearing not the effects of the general hatred against the Quakers, went, at the risk of being treated as a spy, to present himself to General Washington, to justify to him the conduct of the Quakers; it is he, that in the midst of the furies of war, equally a friend to the French, the English, and the Americans, carried generous succours to those among them who were suffering. Well, this angel of peace came to see me. I am Warner Miflin, says he; I have read the book wherein thou defendest the cause of the Friends, wherein thou preachest the principles of universal benevolence; I knew that thou wast here, and I have come to see thee; besides, I love thy nation. I was, I confess, much prejudiced against the French; I even hated them, having been, in this respect, educated in the English principles. But when I came to see them, a secret voice said to me, that I ought to drive from my heart that prejudice; that I ought to know them, and love them. I have then sought for them. I have known them; and it is with pleasure I have found them to possess a spirit of mildness and general benevolence, which I had never found among the English.

I cannot report to you all the conversation of this worthy Quaker; it made a deep impression on my heart.



What humanity! and what charity! It seems, that to love mankind, and to search to do them good, constitutes his only pleasure, his only existence; his constant occupation is to find the means of making all men but one family; and he does not despair of it. He spoke to me of the Society of Quakers at Nismes, and of some friends in America and England, who have been to visit them. He regarded them as instruments destined to propagate the principles of the society through the world. I mentioned to him some obstacles; such as the corruption of our morals, and the power of the clergy. Oh! my friend, said he, is not the arm of the Almighty stronger than the arm of man? What were we, when the Society took its birth in England? What was America thirteen years ago, when Benezet raised his voice against the slavery of the blacks? Let us always endeavour to do good; fear no obstacles, and the good will be done.

All this was said without the least ostentation. He said what he felt, what he had thought a thousand times; he spoke from the heart, and not from the head. He realized what he had told me of that secret voice, that internal spirit, of which the Quakers speak so much; he was animated by it. Ah! who can see, who can hear a man, so much exalted above human nature, without reflecting on himself, without endeavouring to imitate him, without blushing at his own weakness? What are the finest writings, in comparison with a life so pure, a conduct so constantly devoted to the good of humanity? How small I appeared in contemplating him! And shall we calumniate a sect to which a man so venerable belongs? Shall we paint it as the center of hypocrisy and deceit? We must then suppose that Mifflin counterfeits humanity; that he is in concert with hypocrites, or that he is blind to their true character. To counterfeit humanity, to consent to

sacrifice one's interests, to be scoffed and ridiculed, to impart his goods to the poor, to enfranchise his negroes, and all this by hypocrisy, would be a very bad speculation; hypocrisy makes better calculations. But, if you suppose this man to be true and honest as to himself, can you imagine him to be in concert with knaves? This would be an absurd contradiction. Finally, on hearing this man, full of good sense, and endowed with a solid judgment, reasoning with so much force, can you believe that he has been, for all his life, the dupe of a band of sharpers, when he is at the same time in all their most secret counsels, and one of their chiefs? Yes, my friend, I repeat it, the attachment of an angel like Warner Mifflin to the sect of Quakers, is the fairest apology for that society.

He took me one day to see his intended wife, Miss Ameland, whom he was to marry in a few days. She is a worthy companion of this reputable Quaker. What mildness! what modesty! and, at the same time, what entertainment in her conversation! Miss Ameland once loved the world. She made verses and music, and was fond of dancing. Though young still, she has renounced all these amusements, to embrace the life of an anchorite. In the midst of the world, she has persisted in her design, notwithstanding the pleasantries of her acquaintance.

## LETTER X

### THE FUNERAL OF A QUAKER—A QUAKER MEETING

I was present at the funeral of Thomas Holwell, one of the elders of the Society of Friends. James Pemberton conducted me to it. I found a number of Friends assembled about the house of the deceased, and waiting in silence for the body to appear. It appeared, and was in a coffin

of black walnut, without any covering or ornament, borne by four Friends; some women followed, who, I was told, were the nearest relatives, and grand-children of the deceased.\* All his friends followed in silence, two by two. I was of the number. There were no places designated; young and old mingled together; but all bore the same air of gravity and attention. The burying ground is in the town; but it is not surrounded with houses. I saw near some of the graves, some pieces of black stones, on which the names only of the dead were engraved. The greatest part of the Quakers dislike even this; they say, that a man ought to live in the memory of his friends, not by vain inscriptions, but by good actions. The grave was six or seven feet deep; they placed the body by the side of it. On the opposite side were seated, on wooden chairs, the four women, who appeared to be the most affected. The people gathered round, and remained for five minutes in profound meditation. All their countenances marked a gravity suitable to the occasion, but nothing of grief. This interval being elapsed, they let down the body, and covered it with earth; when a man advanced near the grave, planted his cane in the ground, fixed his hat upon it, and began a discourse relative to this sad ceremony. He trembled in all his body, and his eyes were staring and wild. His discourse turned upon the tribulations of this life, the necessity of recurring to God, etc. When he had finished, a woman threw herself on her knees, made a very short prayer, the men took off their hats, and all retired.

I was at first surprised, I confess, at this trembling of the preacher. We are so accustomed, by our European philosophy, to consider those appearances as the effect of hypocrisy, and to annex to them the idea of ridicule, that

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\*None of them were dressed in black. The Quakers regard this testimony of grief as childish.

it was difficult to prevent myself from being seized with a like impression; but I recollect that something similar had happened to me a hundred times; when I had been warmed with a subject, and drawn into an interesting discussion, I have been transported out of myself to such a degree, that I could neither see nor hear, but experienced a considerable trembling. Hence I concluded, that it might be natural, especially to a man continually occupied in meditation on the Almighty, on death, and a future state. I went from thence with these Friends to their meeting. The most profound silence reigned for near an hour; when one of their ministers, or elders, who sat on the front bench, rose, pronounced four words—then was silent for a minute, then spoke four words more; and his whole discourse was pronounced in this manner. This method is generally followed by their preachers; for, another who spoke after him, observed the same intervals.

Whether I judged from habit or reason, I know not; but this manner of speaking appeared to me not calculated to produce a great effect; for the sense of the phrase is perpetually interrupted; and the hearer is obliged to guess at the meaning, or be in suspense; either of which is fatiguing. But before forming a decisive opinion, we ought to enquire into the reasons which have led the Quakers to adopt this method. Certainly the manner of the ancient orators and modern preachers, is better imagined for producing the great effect of eloquence. They speak by turns, to the imagination, to the passions, and to the reason; they please in order to move; they please in order to convince; and it is by pleasure that they draw you after them. This is the eloquence necessary for men enervated and enfeebled, who wish to spare themselves the trouble of thinking. The Quakers are of a different character; they early

habituate themselves to meditation, and of few words. They have no need, then, of preachers with sounding phrases and long sermons. They disdain elegance as an useless amusement; and long sermons appear disproportioned to the force of the human mind, and improper for the divine service. The mind should not be loaded with too many truths at once, if you wish they should make a lasting impression. The object of preaching being to convert, it ought rather to lead to reflection, than to dazzle and amuse. I observed, in the countenances of all this congregation, an air of gravity mixed with sadness. Perhaps I am prejudiced; but I should like better, while people are adoring their God, to see them have an air which would dispose persons to love each other, and to be fond of the worship. Such an air would be attracting to young people, whom too much severity disgusts. Besides, why should a person with a good conscience, pray to God with a sad countenance?

The prayer which terminated this meeting was fervent; it was pronounced by a minister, who fell on his knees. The men took off their hats; and each retired, after having shaken hands with his neighbour.

What a difference between the simplicity of this, and the pomp of the Catholic worship! Reformation, in all stages, has diminished the formalities; you will find this regular diminution in descending from the Catholic to the Lutheran, from the Lutheran to the Presbyterian, and from thence to Quakers and Methodists. It is thus that human reason progresses towards perfection.

In considering the simplicity of the Quaker's worship, and the air of sadness that in the eyes of strangers appears to accompany it, an air which one would think disgusting to young people, even of their own sect. I have been sur-

prised that the Society should maintain a concurrence with more brilliant sects, and even increase by making proselytes from them. This effect is principally to be attributed to the singular image of domestic happiness which the Quakers enjoy. Renouncing all external pleasures, music, theatres, and shows, they are devoted to their duties as citizens, to their families, and to their business; thus they are beloved by their wives, cherished by their children, and esteemed by their neighbours. Such is the spectacle which has often drawn to this Society, men who have ridiculed it in their youth.

The history of the Quakers will prove the falsity of a principle often advanced in politics. It is this: that, to maintain order in society, it is necessary to have a mode of worship striking to the senses; and that the more show and pomp are introduced into it, the better. This is what has given birth to, and still justified, our full chants, our spiritual concerts, our processions, our ornaments, etc. Two or three hundred thousand Quakers have none of these mummeries, and yet they observe good order.

This fact has led me to another conclusion, the solidity of which has been hitherto disputed. It is, the possibility of a nation of Deists.\* A nation of Deists maintaining good government, would be a miracle in political religion. And why should it not exist, when knowledge shall be more universally extended, when it shall penetrate all ranks of society? What difference would there be between a society of Deists, and one of Quakers, assembling to hear a discourse on the immortality of the soul, and to pray God in simple language!

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\*Neither the English nor Americans attach the same idea to this word that a Frenchman does. They consider a Deist as a king of Materialist.—I understand by a Deist, a man that believes in God, and the immortality of the soul.

## LETTER XI

VISIT TO A BETTERING-HOUSE, OR HOUSE OF  
CORRECTION\*

September 1, 1788.

This hospital is situated in the open country, in one of those parts of the original plan of Philadelphia not yet covered with houses. It is already divided into regular streets; and, God grant that these projected streets may never be any thing more than imaginary! If they should one day be adorned with houses, it would be a misfortune to the hospitals, to Pennsylvania, and to all America.

This hospital is constructed of bricks, and composed of two large buildings; one for men, and the other for women. There is a separation in the court, which is common to them. This institution has several objects: they receive into it, the poor, the sick, orphans, women in travail, and persons attacked with venereal diseases. They likewise confine here, vagabonds, disorderly persons, and girls of scandalous lives.

There exists then, you will say, even in Philadelphia, that disgusting commerce of diseases, rather than of pleasures, which for so long a time has empoisoned our continent. Yes, my friend, two or three of the most considerable maritime towns of the new continent are afflicted by this leprosy. It was almost unknown before the revolution; but the abode of foreign armies has naturalized it, and it is one of those scourges for which the free Americans are indebted to us. But this traffic is not carried on so scandalously as at Paris or London. It is restrained, it is held in contempt, and almost imperceptible. I ought to say, to the honor of the Americans, that it is nourished only by emigrants and European travellers; for the sanctity of

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\*This house is properly named: because, contrary to the ordinary effect of hospitals, it renders the prisoners better.

marriage is still universally respected in America. Young people marrying early, and without obstacles, are not tempted to go and dishonour, and empoison themselves in places of prostitution.

But to finish my account of this hospital, there are particular halls appropriated to each class of poor, and to each species of sickness; and each hall has its superintendent. This institution was rich, and well administered before the war. The greater part of the administrators were Quakers. The war and paper-money introduced a different order of things. The legislature resolved not to admit to its administration, any persons but such as had taken the oath of fidelity to the State. The Quakers were by this excluded, and the management of it fell into hands not so pure. The spirit of depredation was manifest in it, and paper-money was still more injurious. Creditors of the hospital were paid, or rather ruined by this operation. About a year ago, on the report of the inspectors of the hospitals, the legislature, considering the abuses practised in that administration, confided that of the bettering-house again to the Quakers. Without any resentment of the affronts they had received during the war, and only anxious to do good and perform their duty, the Friends accepted the administration, and exercised it, as before, with zeal and fidelity. This change has produced the effect which was expected. Order is visibly re-established; many administrators are appointed, one of whom, by turns, is to visit the hospital every day; six physicians are attached to it, who perform the service gratis.

I have seen the hospitals of France, both at Paris, and in the provinces. I know none of them, but the one at Besancon, that can be compared to this at Philadelphia. Every sick, and every poor person, has his bed well furnished, but without curtains, as it should be. Every room



is lighted by windows placed opposite, which introduce plenty of light, that great consolation to a man confined, of which tyrants for this reason are cruelly sparing. These windows admit a free circulation of air; most of them open over the fields; and as they are not very high, and are without grates, it would be very easy for the prisoners to make their escape; but the idea never enters their heads. This fact proves that the prisoners are happy, and, consequently, that the administration is good.

The kitchens are well kept, and do not exhale that fetid odour which you perceive from the best kitchens in France. The eating-rooms, which are on the ground floor, are equally clean, and well aired; neatness and good air reign in every part. A large garden at the end of the court, furnishes vegetables for the kitchen. I was surprised to find there, a great number of foreign shrubs and plants. The garden is well cultivated. In the yard they rear a great number of hogs; for, in America, the hog, as well as the ox, does the honours of the table through the whole year.

I could scarcely describe to you the different sensations which, by turns, rejoiced and afflicted my heart, in going through their different appartments. An hospital, how well soever administered, is always a painful spectacle to me. It appears to me so consoling for a sick man to be at his own home, attended by his wife and children, and visited by his neighbours, that I regard hospitals as vast sepulchres, where are brought together a crowd of individuals, strangers to each other, and separated from all they hold dear. And what is man in this situation? A leaf detached from the tree, and driven down by the torrent—a skeleton no longer of any consistence, and bordering on dissolution.

But this idea soon gives place to another. Since societies are condemned to be infested with great cities, since misery and vice are the necessary offspring of these cities,

a house like this becomes the asylum of beneficence; for, without the aid of such institutions, what would become of the greater part of those wretches who here find a refuge? So many women, blind, deaf, rendered disgusting by their numerous infirmities. They must very soon perish, abandoned by all the world, to whom they are strangers. No door but that of their common mother earth would receive these hideous figures, were it not for this provision made by their common friend, Society.

I saw in this hospital, all that misery and disease can assemble. I saw a woman suffering on the bed of pain; others, whose meagre visages, roughened with pimples, attest the effect of fatal incontinence; others, who waited with groans the moment when Heaven would deliver them from a burden which dishonours them; others, holding in their arms the fruit, not of a legal marriage, but of love betrayed. Poor innocents! born under the star of wretchedness! Why should men be born, predestinated to misfortunes? But, bless God, at least, that you are in a country where bastardy is no obstacle to respectability and the rights of citizenship. I saw with pleasure, these unhappy mothers caressing their infants, and nursing them with tenderness. There were few children in the hall of the little orphans; these were in good health, and appeared gay and happy. Mr. Shoemaker, who conducted me thither, and another of the directors, distributed some cakes among them, which they had brought in their pockets. Thus the directors think of their charge even at a distance, and occupy themselves with their happiness. Good God! there is, then, a country where the soul of the governor of an hospital, is not a soul of brass!

Blacks are here mingled with the whites, and lodged in the same apartments. This, to me, was an edifying sight; it seemed a balm to my soul. I saw a negro woman

spinning with activity by the side of her bed. Her eyes seemed to expect from the director, a word of consolation—she obtained it; and it seemed to be heaven to her to hear him. I should have been more happy, had it been for me to have spoken this word: I should have added many more. Unhappy negroes! how much reparation do we owe them for the evils we have occasioned them—the evils we still occasion them! and they love us!

The happiness of this negress was not equal to that which I saw sparkle on the visage of a young blind girl, who seemed to leap for joy at the sound of the director's voice. He asked after her health; she answered him with transport. She was taking her tea by the side of her little table. Her tea! My friend, you are astonished at this luxury in an hospital. It is because there is humanity in its administration, and the wretches are not crowded in here in heaps to be stifled. They give tea to those whose conduct is satisfactory; and those who by their work are able to make some savings, enjoy the fruits of their industry. I remarked in this hospital, that the women were much more numerous than the men; and among the latter, I saw none of those hideous figures so common in the hospitals of Paris—figures on which you trace the marks of crimes, misery, and indolence. They have a decent appearance; many of them asked the director for their enlargement, which they obtained.

But what resources have they, on leaving this house? They have their hands, answered the director, and they may find useful occupations. But the women, replied I, what can they do? Their condition is not so fortunate, said he. In a town where so many men are occupied in foreign commerce, the number of unhappy and disorderly females will be augmented. To prevent this inconvenience, it has been lately proposed to form a new establishment,

which shall give to girls of this description a useful occupation, where the produce of the industry of each person shall be preserved and given to her on leaving the house; or, if she should choose to remain, she shall always enjoy the fruit of her own labour.

This project will, without doubt, be executed; for the Quakers are ingenious and persevering, when they have in view the succour of the unhappy. My friend, the author of this project is my conductor. I see him beloved and respected, constantly occupied in useful things; and he is but thirty years of age! and is it astonishing that I praise a sect which produces such prodigies?

On our return from the hospital, we drank a bottle of cider. Compare this frugal repast to the sumptuous feasts given by the superintendents of the poor of London—by those humane inspectors who assemble to consult on making repairs to the amount of six shillings, and order a dinner for six guineas. You never find among the Quakers, these robberies upon indigence, these infamous treasons against beneficence. Bless them, then, ye rich and poor; ye rich, because their fidelity and prudence economise your money; ye poor, because their humanity watches over you without ceasing.

The expences of this hospital amount to about five pence a day, money of Pennsylvania, for each pensioner. You know that the best administered hospital in Paris, amounts to about fourteen pence like money a day; and, what a difference in the treatment!

## LETTER XII

### HOSPITALS FOR LUNATICS

This is the hospital so justly celebrated by M. de Crevecoeur, and which the humane Mr. Mazzei regards only as a curiosity scarcely worth seeing.

The building is fine, elegant, and well kept. I was charmed with the cleanliness in the halls of the sick, as well as in the particular chambers. I observed the bust of Franklin in the library, and was told that this honour was rendered him as one of the principal founders of this institution. The library is not numerous; but it is well chosen. The hall on the first floor, is appropriated to sick men; there were six in it. About the same number of sick women were in a like hall on the second floor. These persons appeared by no means miserable; they seemed to be at home. I went below, to see the lunatics; they were about fifteen male and female. Each one had his cell, with a bed, a table, and a convenient window with grates. Stoves are fixed in the walls, to warm the cell in winter.

There were no mad persons among them. Most of the patients are the victims of religious melancholy, or of disappointed love. These unhappy persons are treated with the greatest tenderness; they are allowed to walk in the court; are constantly visited by two physicians. Dr. Ruth has invented a kind of swing chair for their exercise.

What a difference between this treatment and the atrocious regulations to which we condemn such wretches in France! where they are rigorously confined, and their disorders scarcely ever fail to increase upon them. The Turks, on the contrary, manifest a singular respect to persons insane; they are eager to administer food to them, to load them with caresses. Fools in that country are never known to be injurious; whereas, with us, they are dangerous, because they are unhappy.

The view of these persons affected me more than that of the sick. The last of human miseries, in my opinion, is confinement; and I cannot conceive how a sick person can be cured in prison, for confinement itself is a continual malady. The exercise of walking abroad, the view of the

fields, the murmur of the rivulets, and the signing of birds, with the aid of vegetable diet, appear to me the best means of curing insanity. It is true, that this method requires too many attendants; and the impossibility of following it for the hospital of Philadelphia, makes it necessary to recur to locks and bars. But why do they place these cells beneath the ground-floor, exposed to the unwholesome humidity of the earth? The enlightened and humane Dr Ruth told me, that he had endeavoured for a long time, in vain, to introduce a change in this particular; and that this hospital was formed at a time when little attention was thought necessary for the accommodation of fools. I observed, that none of these fools were naked, or indecent; a thing very common with us. These people preserve, even in their folly, their primitive characteristic of decency.

I could not leave this place without being tormented with one bitter reflection. A man of the most brilliant genius may here finish his days. If Swift had not been rich, he had dragged out his last moments in such an hospital. O ye who watch over them, be gentle in your administration!—perhaps a benefactor of the human race has fallen under your care.

### LETTER XIII

ON BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Thanks to God he still exists! This great man, for so many years the preceptor of the Americans, who so gloriously contributed to their independence, death had threatened his days; but our fears are dissipated, and his health is restored. I have just been to see him, and enjoy his conversation, in the midst of his books, which he still calls his best friends. The pains of his cruel infirmity change not the serenity of his countenance, nor the calmness of his conversation. If these appeared so agreeable to our

Frenchmen, who enjoyed his friendship in Paris, how would they seem to them here, where no diplomatic functions impose upon him that mask of reserve which was sometimes so chilling to his guests. Franklin, surrounded by his family, appears to be one of those patriarchs whom he so well described, and whose language he has copied with such simple elegance. He seems one of those ancient philosophers, who at times descend from the sphere of his elevated genius, to instruct weak mortals, by accommodating himself to their feebleness. I have found in America, a great number of enlightened politicians and virtuous men; but I find none who appear to possess, in so high a degree as Franklin, the characteristics of a real philosopher. You know him, my friend. A love for the human race is habitual exercise, an indefatigable zeal to serve them, extensive information, simplicity of manners, and purity of morals; all these furnish not marks of distinction sufficiently observable between him and other patriot politicians, unless we add another characteristic; it is, that Franklin, in the midst of the vast scene in which he acted so distinguished a part, had his eyes fixed without ceasing on a more extensive theatre—on heaven and a future life; the only point of view which can sustain, disinterest, and aggrandise man upon earth, and make him a true philosopher. All his life has been but a continued study and practice of philosophy.

I wish to give you a sketch of it from some traits which I have been able to collect, as his history has been much disfigured. This sketch may serve to rectify some of those false anecdotes which circulate in Europe.

Franklin was born at Boston, in 1706, the fifteenth child of a man who was a dyer and a soap-boiler. He wished to bring up this son to his own trade; but the lad took an invincible dislike to it, preferring even the life of

a sailor. The father disliking this choice, placed him apprentice with an elder son, who was a printer, and published a newspaper.

Three traits of character, displayed at that early period, might have given an idea of the extraordinary genius which he was afterwards to discover.

The puritanic austerity which at that time predominated in Massachusetts, impressed the mind of young Benjamin in a manner more oblique than it had done that of his father. The old man was in the practice of making long prayers and benedictions before all his meals. One day, at the beginning of winter, when he was salting his meat, and laying in his provisions for the season, "Father," says the boy, "it would be a great saving of time, if you would say grace over all these barrels of meat at once, and let that suffice for the winter."

Soon after he went to live with his brother, he began to address pieces to him for his paper in a disguised handwriting. These essays were universally admired; his brother became jealous of him, and endeavored, by severe treatment, to cramp his genius. This obliged him soon to quit his service, and go to seek his fortune at New York.

Benjamin had read a treatise of Dr. Tryon on the Pythagorean regimen; and, fully convinced by its reasoning, he abstained from the use of meat for a long time; and became irreconcilable to it, until a cod-fish, which he caught in the open sea, and found its stomach full of little fish, overturned his whole system. He concluded, that since the fishes eat each other, men might very well feed upon other animals. This Pythagorean diet was economical to the printer's boy; it saved him some money to lay out for books; and reading was the first and constant passion of his life.



Having left his father's house without recommendation, and almost without money, depending only upon himself, but always confident in his own judgment, and rejoicing in his independence, he became the sport of accidents, which served rather to prove him, than to discourage him. Wandering in the streets of Philadelphia, with only five shillings in his pocket, not known to a person in the town, eating a crust of bread, and quenching his thirst in the waters of the Delaware; who could have discerned in this wretched labourer, one of the future legislators of America, one of the fathers of modern philosophy, and an ambassador covered with glory in the most wealthy, the most powerful, and the most enlightened country in the world? Who could have believed that France, that Europe, would one day erect statues to that man who had not where to lay his head?

This circumstance reminds me of a similar one of Rousseau: Having for his whole fortune six liards; harrassed with fatigue, and tormented with hunger; he hesitated whether he should sacrifice this little piece to his repose, or to his stomach. He decided the conflict by purchasing a piece of bread, and resigning himself to sleep in the open air. In this abandonment of nature and men, he still enjoyed the one, and despised the other. The Lyonnese, who disdained Rousseau because he was ill dressed, had died unknown; while altars are now erected to the man ill-dressed. These examples ought to console men of genius, whom fortune may reduce to the necessity of struggling against want. Adversity but forms them, and perseverance will bring its reward.

Arriving at Philadelphia did not finish the misfortunes of Benjamin Franklin. He was there deceived and disappointed by Governor Keith, who, by fine promises for his future establishment, which he never realized, induced

him to embark for London, where he arrived without money and without recommendations. Happily he knew how to procure subsistence. His talents for the press, in which no person excelled him, soon gave him occupation. His frugality, the regularity of his conduct, and the good sense of his conversation, procured him the esteem of his comrades; his reputation in this respect, existed for fifty years afterwards in the printing offices in London.

An employment promised him by a Mr. Derham, recalled him to his country in 1726, when fortune put him to another proof. His protector died; and Franklin was obliged for subsistence, to have recourse again to the press. He found the means soon afterwards to establish a printing-press himself, and to publish a gazette. At this period began his good success, which never afterwards abandoned him. He married a Miss Read, to whom he was attached by a long friendship, and who merited all his esteem. She partook of his enlarged and beneficent ideas, and was the model of a virtuous wife and a good neighbour.

Having arrived at this degree of independence, Franklin had leisure to pursue his speculations for the good of the public. His gazette furnished him with the regular and constant means of instructing his fellow citizens. He made this gazette the principal object of his attention; so that it acquired a vast reputation, and was read through the whole country, and may be considered as having contributed much to perpetuate in Pennsylvania those excellent morals which still distinguish that State.

I possess one of these gazettes, composed by him, and printed at his press. It is a precious relique, a monument which I wish to preserve with reverence, to teach men to blush at the prejudice which makes them despise the useful and important profession of the editor of daily papers. Men of this profession, among a free people, are their first

preceptors, and best friends; and when they unite talents with patriotism and philosophy, when they serve as the canal for communicating truths, for dissipating prejudices, and removing those hatreds which prevent the human race from uniting together in one great family, these men are the curates, the missionaries, the angels deputed from heaven for the happiness of men.

Let it not be said, in ridicule of this profession, that an ill use is sometimes made of it, for the defence of vice, of despotism, of errors. Shall we proscribe eloquence and the use of speech, because wicked men possess them?

But a work which contributed still more to diffuse in America the practice of frugality, economy, and good morals, was Poor Richard's Almanack. You are acquainted with it; it had a great reputation in France, but still more in America. Franklin continued it for twenty-five years, and sold annually more than ten thousand copies. In this work, the most weighty truths are delivered in the simplest language, and suited to the comprehension of all the world.

In 1736, Franklin began his public career. He was appointed Secretary of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and continued in that employment for many years.

In 1737, the English government confided to him the administration of the general postoffice in America. He made it at once lucrative to the revenue, and useful to the inhabitants. It served him particularly, to extend everywhere his useful gazettes.

Since that epoch, not a year has passed without his proposing, and carrying into execution, some project useful to the colonies.

To him are owing the companies of assurance against fire; companies so necessary in countries where houses are built with wood, and where fires completely ruin individ-

uals; while, on the contrary, they are disastrous in a country where fires are not frequent, and not dangerous.

To him is owing the establishment of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, its library, its university, its hospitals, etc.

Franklin, persuaded that information could not be extended but by first collecting it; and by assembling men who were likely to possess it, was always extremely ardent to encourage literary and political clubs. In one of these clubs, which he founded, the following questions were put to the candidate:

“Do you love all men, of whatever religion they may be? Do you believe that we ought to persecute or decry a man for mere speculative opinions, or for his mode of worship? Do you love truth for its own sake, and will you employ all your efforts to discover it, and to make it known to others?”

Observe, again, the spirit of this club in the questions put to the members at their meetings: “Know you any citizen who has lately been remarkable for his industry? Know you in what the Society can be useful to its brethren, and to all the human race? Is there any stranger arrived in town? In what can the Society be useful to him? Is there any young person beginning business, who wants encouragement? Have you observed any defects in the new acts of the legislature, which can be remedied? How can the society be useful to you?”

The attention which he paid to these institutions of literature and humanity, did not divert him from his public functions, nor from his experiments in natural philosophy.

His labours on these subjects are well known; I shall therefore not speak of them, but confine myself to a fact which has been little remarked; it is, that Franklin always

directed his labours to that kind of public utility which, without procuring any great eclat to its author, produces great advantage to the citizens at large. It is to this popular taste, which characterised him, that we owe the invention of his electrical conductors, his economical stoves, his dissertations, truly philosophical, on the means of preventing chimneys from smoking, on the advantages of copper roofs to houses, the establishment of so many papermills in Pennsylvania,\* etc.

The circumstances of his political career are likewise known to you; I therefore pass them over in silence. But I ought not to omit to mention his conduct during the war of 1755. At that period he enjoyed a great reputation in the English colonies. In 1754 he was appointed one of the members of the famous Congress, which was held at Albany; the object of which was to take the necessary measures to prevent the invasion of the French. He presented to that Congress an excellent plan of union and defence, which was adopted by that body; but it was rejected in London by the department for the colonies, under the pretext that it was too democratical. It is probable that, had this plan been pursued, the colonies would not have been ravaged by the dreadful war which followed. During this war, Franklin performed many important functions. At one time he was sent to cover the frontiers, to raise troops, build forts, etc. You then see him contesting with the governor, to force him to give his consent to a bill taxing the family of Penn, who were proprietors of one-third of the lands of Pennsylvania, and refused to pay taxes. He than was sent deputy to London, where he was successful in supporting the cause of the colony in the Privy Council against that powerful family.

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\*Doctor Franklin told me, that he had established about eighteen paper mills. His grandson, Mr. T. Franklin, will doubtless publish a collection of his useful letters on the salutary or pernicious effects of different processes in the arts. These letters are scattered in the American gazettes. The collection of them would be curious.

The superior skill and management which he discovered in these negotiations, were the forerunners of the more important success which attended him during the war of independence, when he was sent ambassador to France.

On his final return to his country, he obtained all the honours which his important services merited. His great age, and his infirmities, have compelled him at last to renounce his public career, which he has run with so much glory. He lives retired, with his family, in a house which he has built on the spot where he first landed, sixty years before, and where he found himself wandering without a home, and without acquaintance. In this house he has established a printing press and a type foundry. From a printer he had become ambassador; from this he has now returned to his beloved press, and is forming to his precious art his grandson, Mr. Bache. He has placed him at the head of an enterprise which will be infinitely useful; it is a complete edition of all the classic authors, that is, of all those moral writers whose works ought to be the manual for men who wish to gain instruction, and make themselves happy by doing good to others.

It is in the midst of these holy occupations, that this great man waits for death with tranquillity. You will judge of his philosophy on this point, which is the touchstone of philosophy, by the following letter, written thirty years ago on the death of his brother John Franklin, addressed to Mrs. Hubbard, his daughter-in-law.

“My Dear Child:

“I am grieved with you; we have lost a friend, who, to us, was very dear, and very precious. But it is the will of God and of nature, that these mortal bodies should be laid aside when the soul is ready to enter into real life; for this life is but an embryo state, a preparation for life. A man is not completely born, until he is dead. Shall we complain, then, that a new-born has taken his place among the

immortals? We are spirits. It is proof of the goodness of God, that our bodies are lent us so long as they can be useful to us, in receiving pleasure, in acquiring knowledge, or in doing good to our fellow-creatures; and he gives a new proof of the same goodness in delivering us from our bodies, when, instead of pleasure, they cause us pain; when, instead of aiding others, we become chargeable to them. Death is then a blessing from God; we ourselves often prefer a partial death to continued pain; it is thus that we consent to the amputation of a limb, when it cannot be restored to life. On quitting our bodies, we are delivered from all kinds of pain. Our friend and we are invited to a party of pleasure which will endure eternally: he has gone first; why should we regret it, since we are so soon to follow, and we know where we are to meet?"

Appendix to the preceding chapter, written in December, 1790. Franklin has enjoyed this year, the blessings of death, for which he waited so long a time. I will here repeat the reflections which I printed in my Gazette of the 13th of June last, on this event, and on the decree of the National Assembly on this occasion.

I will introduce them with the discourse of M. Mirabeau in that assembly:

"Gentlemen:

"Franklin is dead—he has returned to the bosom of God—the genius who has liberated America, and shed over Europe the torrents of his light! The sage of two worlds—the man for whom the history of sciences and the history of empires contend, should doubtless hold an elevated rank in the human race.

"Too long have political cabinets been accustomed to notify the death of those who are great only in their funeral pomp; too long has the etiquette of courts proclaimed hypocritical mourning. Nations ought to mourn only for their benefactors; the representatives of nations ought to

recommend to their homage, none but the heroes of humanity.

"The Congress has ordained a mourning of two months for the death of Franklin; and America, at this moment, is rendering this tribute of veneration to one of the fathers of her constitution.

"Would it not be worthy of you, gentlemen, to join them in this truly religious act, to participate in this homage rendered in the face of the universe to the rights of men, to the philosopher, who has contributed the most to extend their empire over the face of the earth?

"Antiquity would have raised altars to that powerful genius, who, for the benefit of man, embracing heaven and earth, could have curbed the thunders of the one, and the tyrants of the other. Europe, enlightened and free, owes at least a testimony of gratitude to the greatest man that ever adorned philosophy and liberty.

"I propose that it be decreed, that the National Assembly go into mourning three days for Benjamin Franklin."

The Assembly received with acclamation, and decreed with unanimity, the proposal of M. Mirabeau.

The honour thus done to the memory of Franklin, will reflect glory on the National Assembly. It will give an idea of the immense difference between this legislature and other political bodies; for, how many prejudices must have been vanquished, before France could bring her homage to the tomb of a man, who, from the station of a journey-man printer, had raised himself to the rank of legislator, and contributed to place his country on a footing among the great powers of the earth.

This sublime decree was pronounced, not only without hesitation, but with that enthusiasm which is inspired by the name of a great man, by the regret of having lost him, by the duty of doing honour to his ashes, and by the hope, that rendering this honour may give rise to like virtues



and like talents in others. And, oh! may this Assembly, penetrated with the greatness of the homage which she has rendered to genius, to virtue, to the pure love of liberty and humanity; may she never tarnish this homage, by yielding to the solicitations of men who may wish to obtain the same honours for the names of ambitious individuals, who mistaking art for genius, obscure conception for profound ideas, the desire of abasing tyrants for the love of humanity, the applause of a volatile people for the veneration of an enlightened world, may think proper to aspire to the honour of a national mourning.

This hope should doubtless inspire the man of genius, the man of worth; but ye who sincerely indulge the wish to place yourselves by the side of Franklin, examine his life, and have the courage to imitate him. Franklin had genius; but he had virtues; he was good, simple, and modest; he had not that proud asperity in dispute, which repulses with disdain the ideas of others: he listened—he had the art of listening—he answered to the ideas of others, and not to his own.

I have seen him attending patiently to young people who, full of frivolity and pride, were eager to make a parade before him, of some superficial knowledge of their own. He knew how to estimate them; but he would not humiliate them, even by a parade of goodness. Placing himself at once on a level with them, he would answer without having the air of instructing them. He knew that instruction in its pompous apparel, was forbidding. Franklin had knowledge, but it was for the people; he was always grieved at their ignorance, and made it his constant duty to enlighten them. He studied forever to lessen the price of books, in order to multiply them. In a word, genius, simplicity, goodness, tolerance, indefatigable labour, and love for the people—these form the character of

Franklin; and these you must unite, if you wish for a name like his.

#### LETTER XIV.

STEAMBOAT—REFLECTIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF THE  
AMERICANS AND THE ENGLISH.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1788.

I breakfasted with Samuel Ameland, one of the richest and most beneficent of the Society of Friends. He is a pupil of Anthony Benezet; he speaks of him with enthusiasm, and treads in his steps. He takes an active part in every useful institution, and rejoices in the occasion of doing good; he loves the French nation, and speaks their language. He treats me with the greatest friendship; offers me his house, his horses, and his carriage. On leaving him, I went to see an experiment, near the Delaware, on a boat, the object of which is to ascend rivers against the current. The inventor was Mr. Fitch, who had found a company to support the expence. One of the most zealous associates is Mr. Thornton, of whom I have spoken. This invention was disputed between Mr. Fitch and M. Rumsey, of Virginia.\* However it be, the machine which I saw, appears well executed, and well adapted to the design. The steam engine gives motion to three large oars of considerable force, which were to give sixty strokes per minute.

I doubt not but, physically speaking, this machine may produce part of the effects which are expected from it; but

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\*Since writing this letter, I have seen Mr. Rumsey in England. He is a man of great ingenuity; and, by the explanation which he has given me, it appears that his discovery, though founded on a similar principle with that of Mr. Fitch, is very different from it, and far more simple in its execution. Mr. Rumsey proposed then (Feb. 1789), to build a vessel which should go to America by the help only of the steam engine, and without sails. It was to make the passage in fifteen days. I perceive with pain that he has not yet executed his project: which, when executed, will introduce into commerce as great a change as the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.—Author

\*The translator is informed that M. Rumsey is pursuing his operations with greater vigor, and more extensive expectations, than ever.

I doubt its utility in commerce; for, notwithstanding the assurances of the undertakers, it must require many men to manage it, and much expence in repairing the damages occasioned by the violence and multiplicity of the friction. Yet I will allow, that if the movements can be simplified, and the expence lessened, the invention may be useful in a country where labour is dear, and where the borders of rivers are not accessible, like those in France, by horses to draw the boats. This idea was consoling to Dr. Thornton, whom I saw assailed by raileries on account of the steamboat. These raileries appear to me very ill placed. The obstacles to be conquered by genius are every where so considerable, the encouragement so feeble, and the necessity of supplying the want of hand-labour in America so evident, that I cannot, without indignation, see the Americans discouraging by their sarcasms, the generous efforts of one of their fellow-citizens.

When will men be reasonable enough to encourage each other by their mutual aid, and increase the general stock of public good, by mutual mildness and benevolence? It is for republics to set the example: you see more of it in America than elsewhere; it is visibly taking root, and extending itself there. You do not find among the Americans, that concealed pride which acquits a benefit, and dispenses with gratitude; that selfish rudeness which makes of the English a nation by themselves, and enemies to all others. You will, however, find sometimes vestiges of their indifference for other people, and their contempt for strangers who travel among them. For example, a stranger in a society of Americans, if he has the misfortune not to speak their language, is sometimes left alone; no person takes notice of him. This is a breach of humanity, and a neglect of their own interest; of humanity, because consolation is due to a man distant from his friends,

and his ordinary means of amusement; of their own interest, because strangers, disgusted with this treatment, hasten to quit the country, and to prejudice others against it.

I say that this inattention to strangers is above all remarkable in the English. I do not think that I am deceived; I have lived long among them, and am generally accused of too much partiality for them. This same fault is observable in the English islands, I have remarked it in many of them; and I fear that the vices in general of the inhabitants of the islands will corrupt the Americans, who appear to me remarkably fond of extending their connection with them. I heard one of them put the following question to several Americans, at a review of the volunteers of Philadelphia: "Can you tell me whether these brave officers are barbers or cobblers?" This vulgar pleasantry discovers the man of prejudice, the insolent and base European, the valet of a despot. Such railleries tend to destroy that idea of equality which is the basis of republics.

But why do not men of sense, who are witnesses of these follies, refute them with vigour? Why that cowardly suppleness which is decorated with the name of politeness? Is it not evident that it hardens the corrupted man, and suffers to grow up in feeble minds, prejudices which one vigorous attack would destroy?

## LETTER XV.

### THE SOCIETY OF AGRICULTURE—THE LIBRARY

September 2, 1788.

I was present at a meeting of the Agricultural Society. It is not of long standing, but is numerous, and possesses a considerable fund. If such a society ought to receive encouragement in any country, it is in this. Agriculture is the first pillar of this State; and though you find many

good farmers here, yet the great mass of them want information; and this information can only be procured by the union of men well versed in theory and practice.

The subject of this meeting was an important one. The papillion, or worm, called the Hessian Fly, had, for several years, ravaged the wheat in many parts of the United States. The King of England, fearing that this insect might pass into his island, had just prohibited the importation of the American wheat. The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, in order to counteract the effects of this prohibition, by gaining information on the subject, applied to the Society of Agriculture; they desired to know if this insect attacked the grain, and whether it was possible to prevent its ravages.

Many farmers present at this meeting, from their own experience, and that of their neighbours and correspondents, declared, that the insect deposited its eggs, not in the ear, but in the stalk; so that they were well convinced, that, on threshing the wheat, there could be nothing to fear that the eggs would mix with the grain; and consequently they could not be communicated with the grain.

Mr. Polwell and M. Griffiths, president and secretary of this society, do equal honour to it; the one by the neatness of his composition, and the elegance of his style; the other, by his indefatigable zeal.

Among the useful institutions which do honour to Philadelphia, you distinguish the public library; the origin of which is owing to the celebrated Franklin. It is supported by subscription. The price of entrance into this society is ten pounds. Any person has the privilege of borrowing the books. Half of the library is generally in the hands of readers; and I observed with pleasure, that the books were much worn by use.

At the side of this library is a cabinet of natural history. I observed nothing curious in it, but an enormous

thigh-bone, and some teeth as enormous, found near the Ohio, in a mass of prodigious bones, which nature seems to have thrown together in those ages whose events are covered from the eye of history by an impenetrable veil.

### LETTER XVI.

ON THE MARKET OF PHILADELPHIA.

September 3, 1788.

If there exists, says Franklin, an Atheist in the universe, he would be converted on seeing Philadelphia—on contemplating a town where every thing is so well arranged. If an idle man should come into existence here, on having constantly before his eyes the three amiable sisters, Wealth, Science, and Virtue, the children of Industry and Temperance, he would soon find himself in love with them, and endeavour to obtain them from their parents.

Such are the ideas offered to the mind on a market day at Philadelphia. It is, without contradiction, one of the finest in the universe. Variety and abundance in the articles, order in the distribution, good faith and tranquillity in the trader, are all here united. One of the essential beauties of a market, is cleanliness in the provisions, and in those who sell them. Cleanliness is conspicuous here in everything; even meat, whose aspect is more or less disgusting in other markets, here strikes your eyes agreeably. The spectator is not tormented with the sight of little streams of blood, which infect the air, and foul the streets. The woman who bring the produce of the country, are dressed with decency; their vegetables and fruits are neatly arranged in handsome, well-made baskets. Everything is assembled here, the produce of the country, and the works of industry; flesh, fish, fruits, garden-seeds, pottery, iron ware, shoes, trays, buckets extremely well made, etc.

The stranger is never wearied in contemplating this multitude of men and women moving and crossing in every direction, without tumult or injury. You would say, that it was a market of brothers, that it was a rendezvous of philosophers, of the pupils of the silent Pythagoras; for silence reigns without interruption: you hear none of those piercing cries, so common elsewhere; each one sells, bargains, and buys in silence. The carts and horses which have brought in the supplies, are peaceably arranged in the next street, in the order in which they arrive; when disengaged, they move off in silence; no quarrels among the carmen and the porters. You see none of our fools and macaronies galloping with loose reins in the streets. These are the astonishing effects of habit; a habit inspired by the Quakers, who planted morals in this country; a habit of doing every thing with tranquillity and with reason; a habit of injuring no person, and of having no need of the interposition of the magistrate.

To maintain order in such a market in France, would require four judges and a dozen soldiers. Here, the law has no need of muskets; education and morals have done everything. Two clerks of the police walk in the market. If they suspect a pound of butter of being light, they weigh it; if light, it is seized for the use of the hospital.

You see, here, the fathers of families go to market. It was formerly so in France: their wives succeeded to them; thinking themselves dishonoured by the task, they have resigned it to the servants. Neither economy nor morals have gained any thing by this change.

The price of bread is from one penny to twopence the pound, beef and mutton from twopence to fourpence, veal from one penny to twopence; hay from twenty to thirty shillings the ton; butter from fourpence to sixpence the pound; wood from seven shillings to eight shillings the

cord. Vegetables are in abundance, and cheap. Wines of Europe, particularly those of France, are cheaper here than anywhere else. I have drank the wine of Provence, said to be made by M. Bargasse, at ninepence the bottle; but the taverns are extremely dear. Articles of luxury are expensive; a hair-dresser costs you eightpence a day, or twelve shillings the month. I hired a one-horse chaise three days; it cost me three louis d'ors.

### LETTER XVII.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA—A FARM OWNED BY  
A FRENCHMAN.

September 6, 1788.

I had made an acquaintance at New York with General Mifflin, who was then Speaker of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania. I met him again at Philadelphia. His character was well drawn by M. de Chastellux. He is an amiable, obliging man; full of activity, and very popular. He fills his place with dignity and firmness; an enemy to artifice and disguise; he is frank, brave, disinterested, and warmly attached to democratic principles. He is no longer a Quaker: having taken arms, he was forced to quit the society; but he still possesses a great esteem for that sect, to which his wife has always remained faithful. The general had the complaisance to conduct me one day to the General Assembly. I saw nothing remarkable in it: the building is far from that magnificence attributed to it by the Abbe Raynal; it is certainly a fine building when compared with the other edifices of Philadelphia; but it cannot be put in competition with those public buildings which we call fine in Europe.

There were about fifty members present, seated on chairs inclosed by a ballustrade. Behind the ballustrade, is the gallery for spectators. A Petit Maitre, who should



fall suddenly from Paris into this assembly, would undoubtedly find it ridiculous. He would scoff at the simplicity of their cloth coats, and, in some cases, at the negligence of their toilettes; but every man who thinks, will desire that his simplicity may forever remain, and become universal. They pointed out to me, under one of these plain coats, a farmer by the name of Findley, whose eloquence displays the greatest talents.

The estate of General Mifflin, where we went to dine, is five miles from town, by the falls of the Skuykill. These falls are formed by a considerable bed of rocks: they are not perceivable when the water of the river is high. The general's house enjoys a most romantic prospect. This route presents the vestiges of many houses burnt by the English, who had likewise destroyed all the trees, and left the country naked.

I saw at General Mifflin's, an old Quaker, who shook me by my hand with the more pleasure, as he said he found in my air a resemblance of Anthony Benezet. Other Quakers told me the same thing. There is no great vanity in citing this fact, when I recollect what M. de Chastellux says of his figure; but he had eyes of goodness and humanity.

Springmill, where I went to sleep, is a hamlet eight miles up the Skuykill. The best house in it is occupied by Mr. L., a Frenchman. It enjoys the most sublime prospect that you can imagine. It is situated on a hill. On the southeast, the Skuykill flows at its foot through a magnificent channel between two mountains covered with wood. On the banks you perceive some scattering houses and cultivated fields.

The soil is here composed of a great quantity of talc, granit, and yellow gravel; some places a very black earth. In the neighbourhood are quarries of marble of a middling fineness, of which many chimney-pieces are made.

I shall give you some details respecting this Frenchman's farm; they will shew you the manner of living among cultivators here, and they may be useful to any of our friends who may wish to establish themselves in this country. Observations on the manner of extending ease and happiness among men, are, in the eyes of the philosopher, as valuable as those which teach the art of assassinating them. The house of Mr. L. is very well built in stone, two stories high, with five or six fine chambers in each story. From the two gardens, formed like an amphitheatre, you enjoy that fine prospect above mentioned. These gardens are well cultivated, and contain a great quantity of bee hives.

A highway separates the house from the farm. He keeps about twenty horned cattle, and ten or twelve horses. The situation of things on this farm, proves how little is to be feared from theft and robbery in this country; every thing is left open, or inclosed without locks. His farm consists of two hundred and fifty acres; of which the greater part is in wood; the rest is in wheat, Indian corn, buckwheat, and meadow. He shewed me about an acre of meadow, from which he has already taken this year eight tons of hay: he calculates, that, including the third cutting, this acre will produce him this year ten pounds. His other meadows are less manured, and less productive.

Mr. L. recounted to me some of his past misfortunes—I knew them before—he was the victim of the perfidy of an intendant of Guadaloupe, who, to suppress the proofs of his own accomplicity in a clandestine commerce, tried to destroy him by imprisonment, by assassination, and by poison. Escaped from these persecutions, Mr. L. enjoys safety at Springmill; but he does not enjoy happiness. He is alone; and what is a farmer without his wife and family?

He pays from five to six pounds taxes for all his property, consisting of an hundred and twenty acres of wood land, eighty acres of arable, twenty-five acres of meadow, three acres of garden, a great house, several small houses for his servants, his barns, and his cattle. By this fact, you may judge of the exaggerations of the detractors of the United States on the subject of taxes. Compare this with what would be paid in France for a like property. Mr. L. has attempted to cultivate the vine; he has planted a vineyard near his house, on a southeast exposure, and it succeeds very well.

It is a remark to be made at every step in America, that vegetation is rapid and strong. The peach tree, for example, grows fast, and produces fruit in great quantities. Within one month after you have cut your wheat, you would not know your field; it is covered with grass, very high, and very thick.

It will be a long time, however, before the vine can be cultivated to profit in America: first, because labour is dear, and the vine requires vast labour,\* secondly because the wines of Europe will be for a long time cheap in America. Mr. L. furnished me with the proof of this. He gave me some very good Noursillon, which cost him, by the single bottle, only eight pence; and I know that this same wine, at first hand, cost five pence or six pence.

We ought to regard the birds as a great discouragement to the culture of the vine in America. You often see

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\*In Orleannois, the whole operation of cultivating the vine, and making the vintage, costs to the proprietor thirty livres, twenty-five shillings sterling, an acre. A man cannot perform the labour of more than five acres a year; so that he gets six pounds five shillings a year, and supports himself. Compare this with the price of labour in America, and that with the price of French wines.

immense clouds of black birds, which, settling on a vineyard, would destroy it in an instant.

I have already mentioned, that the pastures and fields in America are inclosed with barriers of wood, or fences. These, when made of rails supported by posts, as above described, are expensive, especially in the neighborhood of great towns, where wood is dear. Mr. L. thinks it best to replace them by ditches six feet deep, of which he throws the earth upon his meadows, and borders the sides with hedges; and thus renders the passage impracticable to the cattle. This is an agricultural operation, which cannot be too much recommended to the Americans.

The country here is full of springs; we saw some very fine ones. Mr. L. told us of one which carries a mill night and day, and serves to water his meadows when occasion requires.

I asked him where he purchased his meat. He says, when a farmer kills beef, mutton, or veal, he advertises his neighbours, who take what they choose, and he salts the remainder. As he is here without his family, he has no spinning at his house; makes no cheese, keeps no poultry. These parts of rural economy, which are exercised by women, are lost to him; and it is a considerable loss. He sows no oats, but feeds his horses with Indian corn and buckwheat, ground. I saw his vast corn fields covered with pumpkins, which are profitable for cattle. He has a joiner's shop and a turning-lathe. He makes great quantities of lime on his farm, which sells very well at Philadelphia. He has obtained leave from the State to erect a ferry on the Skuykill, which he says will produce him a profit of forty pounds a year. He is about to build a saw-mill.

The lands newly cleared, produce much more than the lands of France. He had bad wheat this year, though it

had promised well: having grown to a prodigious height, the grain was shrivelled and meagre. He says, the mildew has diminished his crop by more than three hundred bushels. The cause of the mildew is supposed to be this—that when the season advances, it is sometimes attended by fogs, and very heavy dews; the sun bursting through the fog, evaporates the drops on the stalk; and the sudden change from cold and wet, to warm and dry, enfeebles and withers the plant. The mildew is an evil very general in Pennsylvania.

Mr. L. told me that there was no other remedy but to sow early, that the plant may be more vigorous at the season of the mildew.

This farm had cost him two thousand pounds; and he assured me, that allowing nothing for some losses occasioned by his ignorance of the country, of the language on his first arrival, and for the improvements he had made, his land produces more than the interest of his money. He told me, that the house alone had cost more than he paid for the whole. and this is very probable. Persons in general who desire to make good bargains, ought to purchase lands already built upon; for, though the buildings have cost much, they are counted for little in the sale.

Though distant from society, and struggling against many disadvantages, he assured me that he was happy; and that he should not fail to be completely so, were he surrounded by his family, which he had left in France.

He is attentive to the subject of meteorology; it is he that furnishes the meteorologic tables published every month in the *Columbian Magazine*: they are certainly the most exact that have appeared on this continent. He thinks there is no great difference between the climate here and that of Paris; that here, the cold weather is more dry;

that the snow and ice remain but a short time; that there never passes a week without some fair days; that there falls more rain here than in France, but that it rarely rains two days successively; that it provokes more to sweat and to heaviness; finally, that the variations are here more frequent and more rapid.

The following is the result of the observations of this Frenchman for four years: The greatest cold in this part of Pennsylvania, is commonly from ten to twelve degrees below the freezing point of Reaumur's thermometer: the greatest heats are from twenty-six to twenty-eight degrees above: the mean term of his observations for four years, or the temperature, is nine degrees and six-tenths: the mean height of the barometer is twenty-nine inches ten lines and one-tenth, English measure: the prevailing wind is north northwest. In the year there are fifteen days of thunder, seventy-six days of rain, twelve days of snow, five days of tempest with rain; these eighty-one days of rain, with those of snow, give thirty-five inches of water, French measure. The sky is never obscured three days together. The country is very healthy, and extremely vegetative. Wheat harvest is from the 8th to the 12th of July. No predominant sickness has been remarked during these four years.

### LETTER XVIII.

#### JOURNEY OF TWO FRENCHMEN TO THE OHIO.

September 10, 1788.

I have had the good fortune to meet here a Frenchman who is travelling in this country not in pursuit of wealth but to gain information. It is Mr. Saugrain, from Paris; he is an ardent naturalist; some circumstances first attached him to the service of the King of Spain, who sent

him to Spanish America to make discoveries in minerals and natural history. After the death of his protector, Don Galves, he returned to France. In 1787, he formed the project with Mr. Piguet, who had some knowledge in botany, to visit Kentucky, and the Ohio.

They arrived at Philadelphia, and passed immediately to Pittsburgh. There the winter overtook them, and the Ohio froze over, which rarely happens. They lodged themselves a few miles from Pittsburgh, in an open house, where they suffered much from the cold. The thermometer of Reaumur descended to thirty-two degrees, while at Philadelphia it was only at sixteen. During their stay here, they made many experiments. Mr. Saugrain weighed several kinds of wood in an hydrostatic balance which he carried with him. He discovered, likewise, which species would yield the greatest quantity, and the best quality of potash. Many experiments convinced him, that the stalks of Indian corn yield a greater quantity than wood, in proportion to the quantity of matter. He examined the different mines of the country. He found some of iron, of lead, of copper, and of silver. He was told of a rich iron mine belonging to Mr. Murray; but he was not suffered to see it.

On the opening of the spring, they descended the Ohio, having been joined by another Frenchman, Mr. Rague, and a Virginian. They landed at Muskingum, where they saw General Harmer, and some people who were beginning a settlement there.

At some distance below this place, they fell in with a party of savages. M. Piguet was killed, and M. Saugrain wounded and taken prisoner; he fortunately made his escape, rejoined the Virginian, and found the means of returning to Pittsburgh, having lost his money and all his

effects. He then returned to Philadelphia, where I have met him, on his way to Europe.

He has communicated to me many observations on the western country. The immense valley washed by the Ohio, appears to him the most fertile that he has ever seen. The strength and rapidity of vegetation in that country are incredible, the size of the trees enormous, and their variety infinite. The inhabitants are obliged to exhaust the first fatness of the land in hemp and tobacco, in order to prepare it for the production of wheat. The crops of Indian corn are prodigious; the cattle acquire an extraordinary size, and keep fat the whole year in the open fields.

The facility of producing grain, rearing cattle, making whisky, beer, and cyder, with a thousand other advantages, attract to this country great numbers of emigrants from other parts of America. A man in that country, works scarcely two hours in a day, for the support of himself and family; he passes most of his time in idleness, hunting, or drinking. The women spin, and make cloaths for their husbands and families. Mr. Saugrain saw very good woollens and linens made there. They have very little money; every thing is done by barter.

The active genius if the Americans is always pushing them forward. Mr. Saugrain has no doubt but sooner or later the Spaniards will be forced to quit the Mississippi, and that the Americans will pass it and establish themselves in Louisianaz, which he has seen, and considers as one of the finest countries in the universe.

Mr. Saugrain came from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia in seven days, on horseback. He could have come in a chaise; but it would have taken him a longer time. It is a post road, with good taverns established the whole way.\*

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\*Mr. Saugrain is so enchanted with the independent life of the inhabitants of the western country, that he returned again in the year 1790, to settle at Scioto.



## LETTER XIX.

ON THE SCHOOL FOR THE BLACKS AT PHILADELPHIA, AND THE  
PRINCIPAL AMERICAN AUTHORS WHO HAVE WRIT-  
TEN IN THEIR FAVOUR.

There exists, then, a country where the negroes are allowed to have souls, and to be endowed with understanding capable of being formed to virtue and useful knowledge; where they are not regarded as beasts of burden, in order that we may have the privilege of treating them as such. There exists a country, where the blacks, by their virtues and their industry, belye the calumnies which their tyrants elsewhere lavish against them; where no difference is perceived between the memory of a black head whose hair is craped by nature, and that of a white one craped by art. I have had a proof of this today. I have seen, heard, and examined these black children. They read well, repeat from memory, and calculate with rapidity. I have seen a picture painted by a young negro, who never had a master; it was surprisingly well done.

I saw in this school, a mulatto, one-eighth negro; it is impossible to distinguish him from a white boy. His eyes discovered an extraordinary vivacity; and this is a general characteristic of people of that origin.

The black girls, besides reading, writing, and the principles of religion, are taught spinning, needle-work, etc., and their mistresses assure me, that they discover much ingenuity. They have the appearance of decency, attention, and submission. It is a nursery of good servants and virtuous housekeepers. How criminal are the planters of the islands, who form but to debauchery and ignominy, creatures so capable of being fashioned to virtue!

It is to Benezet that humanity owes this useful establishment—to that BENEZET whom Chastellux has not

blushed to ridicule, for the sake of gaining the infamous applauses of the parasites of despotism.

The life of this extraordinary man merits to be known to such men as dare to think, who esteem more the benefactors of their fellow-creatures, than their oppressors, so basely idolized during their life.

Anthony Benezet was born at St. Quintin, in Picardy, in 1712. Fanaticism, under the protection of a bigot king, directed by an infamous confessor, and an infamous woman, spread at that time its ravages in France. The parents of Benezet were warm Calvinists; they fled to England, and he embraced the doctrines of the Quakers. He went to America in 1731, and established himself at Philadelphia in commerce, the business to which he had been educated. But the rigidity of his principles and his taste not agreeing with the spirit of commerce, he quitted that business in 1736, and accepted a place in the academy of that society. From that time all his moments were consecrated to public instruction, the relief of the poor, and the defence of the unhappy negroes. Benezet possessed a universal philanthropy, which was not common at that time; he regarded, as his brothers, all men, of all countries, and of all colours; he composed many works, in which he collected all the authorities from scripture, and from other writings, to discourage and condemn the slave trade and slavery. His works had much influence in determining the Quakers to emancipate their slaves.

It was not enough to set at liberty the unhappy blacks; it was necessary to instruct them—to find them school-masters. And where should he find men willing to devote themselves to a task which prejudice had rendered painful and disgusting? No obstacle could arrest the zeal of Benezet; he set the first example himself; he consecrated his little fortune to the foundation of this school; his

brethren lent some assistance; and by the help of the donations of the society of London, the school for blacks at Philadelphia enjoys a revenue of 2,001 sterling.

He consecrated his fortune and his talents to their instruction; and in 1784, death removed him from this holy occupation, to receive his reward. The tears of the Blacks, which watered his tomb, the sighs of his fraternity, and of every friend of humanity which attended his departing spirit, must be a prize more consoling than the laurels of a conqueror.

Benezet carried always in his pocket a copy of his works on the Slavery of the Blacks, which he gave and recommended to every one he met, who had not seen them. It is a method generally followed by the Society of Friends. They extend the works of utility; and it is the true way of gaining proselytes.

This philanthropic Quaker was preceded in the same career, by many others, whom I ought to mention. The celebrated George Fox, founder of this sect, went from England to Barbadoes in the year 1671, not to preach against slavery, but to instruct the blacks in the knowledge of God, and to engage masters to treat them with mildness.

The minds of men were not yet ripe for this reform; neither were they when William Burling, of Long Island, in 1718, published a treatise against slavery. He was a respectable Quaker: he preached, but in vain; the hour was not yet come.

Ought not this circumstance to encourage the friends of the blacks in France? Sixty years of combat were necessary to conquer the prejudice of avarice in America. One year is scarcely passed since the foundation of the society at Paris; and some apostates already appear, because success has not crowned their first endeavours.

Burling was followed by Judge Sewal, a Presbyterian of Massachusetts. He presented to the General Assem-

bly, a treatise intitled *Joseph sold by his brethren*. He discovers the purest principles, and completely overturns the hackneyed arguments of the traders, respecting the pretended wars of the African princes.

It is often said against the writings of the friends of the blacks, that they have not been witnesses of the sufferings which they describe. This reproach cannot be made against Benjamin Lay, an Englishman, who, brought up in the African trade, afterwards a planter at Barbadoes, bandoned his plantation, on account of the horror inspired by the frightful terrors of slavery endured by the negroes. He retired to Philadelphia, became a Quaker, and ceased not the remainder of his life to preach and write for the abolition of slavery. His principal treatise on this subject appeared in 1737. He was thought to have too much zeal, and to have exaggerated in his descriptions. But these defects were expiated by a life without a stain, by an indefatigable zeal for humanity, and by profound meditations. Lay was simple in his dress, and animated in his speech; he was all on fire when he spoke on slavery. He died in 1760, in the eightieth year of his age.

One of the men most distinguished in this career of humanity, was a Quaker named John Woolman. He was born in 1720. Early formed to meditation, he was judged by the Friends worthy of being a minister at the age of twenty-two. He travelled much to extend the doctrines of the sect; but was always on foot, and without money or provisions, because he would imitate the apostles, and be in a situation to be more useful to the poor people and to the blacks. He abhorred slavery so much, that he would not taste any food that was produced by the labour of slaves. The last discourse that he pronounced, was on this subject. In 1772, he undertook a voyage to England, to concert measures with the Friends there, on the same subject; where he died with the small-pox. He left several use-

ful works, one of which has been through many editions, intitled *Considerations on the Slavery of the Blacks*.

I thought it my duty, my friend, to give you some account of these holy personages, before describing to you the situation of the blacks in this immense country.

### LETTER XX.

#### THE MEANS USED TO ABOLISH THE SLAVE TRADE, AND SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

Woolman and Benezet had in vain employed all their efforts to effect the abolition of this traffic under the English government. The mistaken interest of the mother country caused all the petitions to be rejected in the year 1772; yet the minds of men were prepared in some of the colonies; and scarcely was independence declared, when a general cry arose against this commerce. It appeared absurd for men defending their own liberty, to deny liberty to others. A pamphlet was printed, in which the principles on which slavery is founded, were held up in contrast with those which laid the foundation of the new constitution.

This palpable method of stating the subject, was attended with a happy success; and the Congress, in 1774, declared the slavery of the Blacks to be incompatible with the basis of republican governments. Different legislatures hastened to consecrate this principle of Congress.

Three distinct epochs mark the conduct of the Americans in this business—the prohibition of the importation of slaves—their manumission—and the provision made for their instruction. All the different States are not equally advanced in these three objects.

In the Northern and Middle States, they have proscribed for ever the importation of slaves; in others, this prohibition is limited to a certain time. In South Caro-

lina, where it was limited to three years, it has lately been extended to three years more. Georgia is the only State that continues to receive transported slaves. Yet, when General Oglethorpe laid the foundation of this colony, he ordained, that neither rum nor slaves should ever be imported into it. This law, in both its articles, was very soon violated.

We must acknowledge, however, that the Americans, more than any other people, are convinced that all men are born free and equal; we must acknowledge, that they direct themselves generally by this principle of equality; that the Quakers, who have begun, who have propagated, and who still propagate this revolution of sentiment, have been guided by a principle of religion, and that they have sacrificed to it their personal interest.

Unhappily their opinion on this subject has not yet become universal; interest still combats it with some success in the southern States. A numerous party still argue the impossibility of cultivating their soil without the hands of slaves, and the impossibility of augmenting their number without recruiting them in Africa. It is to the influence of this party, in the late general convention, that is to be attributed the only article which tarnishes that glorious monument of human reason, the new federal system of the United States. It was this party that proposed to bind the hands of the new Congress, and to put it out of their power for twenty years to prohibit the importation of slaves. It was said to this August assembly, "Sign this article, or we will withdraw from the Union." To avoid the evils, which, without meliorating the fate of the blacks, would attend a political schism, the convention was forced to wander from the grand principle of universal liberty, and the preceding declaration of Congress. They thought it their duty to imitate Solon, to make, not the

best law possible, but the best that circumstances would bear.

But, though this article has surprised the friends of liberty in Europe, where the secret causes of it were not known; though it has grieved the society in England, who are ready to accuse the new legislators of a cowardly defection from their own principles; yet we may regard the general and irrevocable proscription of the slave trade in the United States, as very near at hand. This conclusion results from the nature of things, and even from the article itself of the new constitution now cited. Indeed, nine States have already done it; the Blacks, which there abound, are considered as free. There are then nine asylums for those to escape to from Georgia; not to speak of the neighbourhood of the Floridas, where the slaves from Georgia take refuge, in hopes to find better treatment from the Spaniards; and not to speak of those vast forests and inaccessible mountains which make part of the Southern States, and where the persecuted negro may easily find a retreat from slavery. The communications with the back country are so easy, that it is impossible to stop the fugitives; and the expence of reclaiming is disproportioned to their value. And though the free States do not in appearance oppose these reclamations, yet the people there hold slavery in such horror, that the master who runs after his human property, meets little respect, and finds little assistance. Thus the possibility of flight creates a new discouragement to the importation, as it must lessen the value of the slave, induce to a milder treatment, and finally tend, with the concurrence of other circumstances, to convince the Georgian planter, that it is more simple, more reasonable, and less expensive, to cultivate by the hands of freemen. We are right then in saying, that the nature of things in America is against the importation of slaves.

Besides, the Congress will be authorised in twenty years to pronounce definitely on this article. By that time, the sentiments of humanity, and the calculations of reason, will prevail; they will no longer be forced to sacrifice equity to convenience, or have any thing to fear from opposition or schism.

### LETTER XXI.

#### LAWS OF THE DIFFERENT STATES FOR THE MANUMISSION OF SLAVES.

Slavery, my friend, has never polluted every part of the United States. There was never any law in New Hampshire, or Massachusetts, which authorised it. When, therefore, those States proscribed it, they only declared the law as it existed before. There was very little of it in Connecticut; the puritanic austerity which predominated in that colony, could scarcely reconcile itself with slavery. Agriculture was better performed there by the hands of free men; and every thing concurred to engage the people to give liberty to the slaves—so that almost every one has freed them: and the children such as are not yet free, are to have their liberty at twenty-five years of age.

The ease of the Blacks in New York is nearly the same; yet the slaves there are more numerous.

It is because the basis of the population there is Dutch; that is to say, people less disposed than any other to part with their property. But liberty is assured there to all the children of the slaves, at a certain age.

The State of Rhode Island formerly made a great business of the slave trade. It is now totally and for ever prohibited.

In New Jersey the bulk of the population is Dutch. You find there, traces of that same Dutch spirit which I have described. Yet the western parts of the State are



disposed to free their negroes; but the eastern part are opposed to it.

It is probable that their obstinacy will be overcome; at least it is the opinion of the respectable Mr. Livingston, celebrated for the part he has acted in the late revolution; he has declared this opinion in a letter written to the society at Philadelphia. He has himself freed all his slaves, which are very numerous. He is one of the most ardent apostles of humanity; and, knowing the character of his countrymen, he reasons, temporises with their interest, and doubts not of being able to vanquish their prejudices. The Quakers have been more fortunate in Pennsylvania. In the year 1758, they voted, in their general meeting, to excommunicate every member of the society who should persist in keeping slaves. In 1780, at their request, seconded by a great number of persons from other sects, the General Assembly abolished slavery for ever, forced the owners of slaves to cause them to be enregistred, declared their children free at the age of twenty-eight years, placed them, while under that age, on a footing of hired servants, assured to them the benefit of trial by jury, etc. But this act did not provide against all the abuses that avarice could afterwards invent. It was illuded in many points. A foreign commerce of slaves was carried on by speculators; and some barbarous masters sold their Blacks, to be carried into foreign countries; others sent the negro children into neighbouring States, that they might there be sold, and deprived of the benefit of the law of Pennsylvania, when they should come of age; others sent their black pregnant women into another State, that the offspring might be slaves; and others stole free negroes, and carried them to the islands for sale. The society, shocked at these abuses, applied again to the Assembly, who passed a new act in March last, effectually to prevent them. It

ordained, that no black could be sent into a neighbouring State without his consent; confiscated all vessels and cargoes employed in the slave trade; condemned to the public works the stealers of negroes, etc.

Doubtless we cannot bestow too much praise on the indefagitable zeal of the society in Pennsylvania, which solicited these laws, nor on the spirit of equity and humanity displayed by the legislature in passing them; but some regret must mingle itself with our applause. Why did not this respectable body go farther? Why did it not extend at least the hopes of freedom to those who were slaves at the time of the passing the first act? They are a property, it is said; and all property is sacred. But what is a property founded on robbery and plunder? What is a property which violates laws human and divine? But let this property merit some regard. Why not limit it to a certain number of years, in order to give at least the cheap consolation of hope? Why not grant to the slave, the right of purchasing his freedom? What! the child of the negro slave shall one day enjoy his liberty; and the unhappy father, though ready to leap with joy on beholding the fortune of his son, must roll back his eyes with aggravated anguish on his own irrevocable bondage! The son has never felt, like him, the torture of being torn from his country, from his family, from all that is dear to man; the son has not experienced that severity of treatment so common in this country before this revolution of sentiment; yet the son is favoured, and the father consigned to despair. But this injustice cannot long sully the law of a country where reason and humanity prevail. We may hope that a capitulation will be made with avarice; by which these slaves shall be drawn from its hands.

Again—Why, in the act of March, 1780, is it declared that a slave cannot be a witness against a freeman? You

either suppose him less true than the freeman, or you suppose him differently organized. The last supposition is absurd; the other, if true, is against yourselves; for, why are they less conscientious, more corrupted, and more wicked?—it is because they are slaves. The crime falls on the head of the master; and the slave is thus degraded and punished for the vice of the master.

Finally, why do you ordain that the master shall be reimbursed from the public treasury, the price of the slave who may suffer death for crimes? If, as is easy to prove, the crimes of slaves are almost universally the fruit of their slavery, and are in proportion to the severity of their treatment, is it not absurd to recompense the master for his tyranny? When we recollect that these masters have hitherto been accustomed to consider their slaves as a species of cattle, and that the laws make the master responsible for the damages done by his cattle, does it not appear contradictory to reverse the law relative to these black cattle, when they do a mischief, for which society thinks it necessary to extirpate them? In this case, the real author of the crime, instead of paying damages, receives a reward.

No, my friend, we will not doubt but these stains will soon disappear from the code of Pennsylvania. Reason is too predominant to suffer them long to continue.

The little State of Delaware has followed the example of Pennsylvania. It is mostly peopled by Quakers—instances of giving freedom are therefore numerous. In this State, famous for the wisdom of its laws, for its good faith and federal patriotism, resides that angel of peace, Warner Mifflin. Like Benezet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his society relative to the freedom of the Blacks, and the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to his zeal that is owing

the formation of a society in that State, after the model of the one at Philadelphia, for the abolition of slavery.

With the State of Delaware finishes the system of protection of the Blacks. Yet there are some negroes freed in Maryland, because there are some Quakers there; and you perceive it very readily, on comparing the fields of tobacco or of Indian corn belonging to these people, with those of others; you see how much superior the hand of a free man is to that of a slave, in the operations of industry.

When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourself in a different world; and you are convinced of it; when you converse with the inhabitants. They speak not here of projects for freeing the negroes; they praise not the societies of London and America; they read not the works of Clarkson—No, the indolent masters behold with uneasiness, the efforts that are making to render freedom universal. The Virginians are persuaded of the impossibility of cultivating tobacco without slavery; they fear that if the Blacks become free, they will cause trouble; on rendering them free, they know not what rank to assign them in society; whether they shall establish them in a separate district, or send them out of the country. These are the objections which you will hear repeated every where against the idea of freeing them.

The strongest objection lies in the character, the manners and habits of the Virginians. They seem to enjoy the sweat of slaves. They are fond of hunting; they love the display of luxury, and disdain the idea of labour. This order of things will change when slavery shall be no more. It is not, that the work of a slave is more profitable than that of a free man; but it is in multiplying the slaves, condemning them to a miserable nourishment, in depriving them of cloaths, and in running over a large quantity of land with a negligent culture, that they supply the necessity of honest industry.

## LETTER XXII.

ON THE GENERAL STATE, MANNERS, AND CHARACTER OF THE  
BLACKS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The free Blacks in the eastern States, are either hired servants, or they keep little shops, or they cultivate the land. You will see some of them on board of coasting vessels. They dare not venture themselves on long voyages, for fear of being transported and sold in the islands. As to their physical character, the Blacks are vigorous, of a strong constitution,\* capable of the most painful labour, and generally active. As servants, they are sober and faithful. Those who keep shops, live moderately, and never augment their affairs beyond a certain point.

The reason is obvious; the Whites, though they treat them with humanity, like not to give them credit to enable them to undertake any extensive commerce, nor even to give them the means of a common education, by receiving them into their counting-houses. If, then, the Blacks are confined to the retails of trade, let us not accuse their capacity, but the prejudices of the Whites, which lay obstacles in their way.

The same cause hinders the Blacks who live in the country, from having large plantations. Their little fields are generally well cultivated; their log-houses, full of children decently clad, attract the eye of the philosopher, who rejoices to see, that, in these habitations, no tears attest the rod of tyranny.

In this section the Blacks are indeed happy; but let us have the courage to avow, that neither this happiness, nor their talents, have yet attained their perfection. There exists still too great an interval between them and the whites, especially in the public opinion. This humiliating

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\*The married Blacks make at least as many children as the Whites: but it is observed, that more of them die. This is owing less to nature, than to the want of fortune, and of the care of physicians and surgeons.

difference prevents those efforts which they might make to raise themselves. Black children are admitted to the public schools; but you never see them within the walls of a college. Though free, they are always accustomed to consider themselves as beneath the Whites.

We may conclude from this, that it is unfair to measure the extent of their capacity by the examples already given by the free Blacks of the north.

But when we compare them to the slaves of the South, what difference we find!—In the south, the Blacks are in a state of abjection difficult to describe; many of them are naked, ill fed, lodged in miserable huts on straw. They receive no education, no instruction in any kind of religion; they are not married, but coupled. Thus are they brutalized, lazy, without ideas, and without energy. They give themselves no trouble to procure cloaths, or to have better food; they pass their Sunday, which is their day of rest, in total inaction. Inaction is their supreme happiness; they therefore perform little labour, and that in a careless manner.

We must do justice to the truth. The Americans of the southern States treat their slaves with mildness; it is one of the effects of the general extension of the ideas of liberty. The slave labours less; but this is all the alteration made in his circumstances, and he is not the better for it, either in his nourishment, his clothing, his morals, or his ideas. So that the master loses; but the slave does not gain. If they would follow the example of the Northern States, both Whites and Blacks would be gainers by the change.

When we describe the slaves of the South, we ought to distinguish those that are employed as house-servants, from those that work and live in the field. The picture that I have given belongs to the latter; the former are better clad, more active, and less ignorant.

It has been generally thought, and even written by some authors of note, that the Blacks are inferior to the Whites in mental capacity. This opinion begins to disappear; the Northern States furnish examples to the contrary. I shall cite two, which are striking ones; the first proves, that, by instruction, a Black may be rendered capable of any of the professions: the second, that the head of a negro may be organized for the most astonishing calculations, and consequently for all the sciences.

I saw at Philadelphia a black physician, named James Derham. The following history of him was attested to me by many physicians:

He was brought up a slave in a family of Philadelphia, where he learned to read and write, and was instructed in the principles of religion. When young, he was sold to Doctor John Kearsley, Junior, who employed him in compounding medicines, and in administering them in some cases to the sick. At the death of Doctor Kearsley he passed through different hands, and came to be the property of George West, surgeon of the British army, under whom, during the war in America, he performed the lower functions in physic.

At the close of the war, he was purchased by Doctor Robert Dove, of New Orleans, who employed him as his assistant. He gained the doctor's good opinion and friendship to such a degree that he soon gave him his freedom on moderate conditions. Derham was, by this time, so well instructed, that he immediately began to practice, with success, at New Orleans; he is about twenty-six years of age, married, but has no children. His practice brings him three thousand livres a year. Doctor Wistar told me that he conversed with him particularly on the acute diseases of the country where he lives, and found him well versed in the simple methods now in practice of treating those diseases.

I thought, said the doctor, to have indicated to him some new remedies; but he indicated new ones to me.

He is modest, and has engaging manners; he speaks French with facility, and has some knowledge of Spanish.

The other instance has been cited by Doctor Ruth, a celebrated physician and writer of Philadelphia. It is Thomas Fuller, born in Africa, a slave, near seventy years of age, near Alexandria. He can neither read nor write, and has had no instruction of any kind; but he calculates with surprising facility, and will answer any question in arithmetic, with a promptitude that has no example.

These instances prove, without doubt, that the capacity of the negroes may be extended to any thing; that they have only need of instruction and liberty. The difference between those who are free and instructed, and those who are not, is still more visible in their industry. The lands inhabited by the Whites and free Blacks, are better cultivated, produce more abundantly, and offer every where the image of ease and happiness. Such, for example, is the aspect of Connecticut, and of Pennsylvania.

Pass into Maryland and Virginia, and, as I said before, you are in another world—you find not there those cultivated plains, those neat country-houses, barns well distributed, and numerous herds of cattle, fat and vigorous. No: every thing in Maryland and Virginia wears the print of slavery: a starved soil, bad cultivation, houses falling to ruin, cattle small and few, and black walking skeletons; in a word, you see real misery, and apparent luxury, insulting each other.

They begin to perceive, even in the southern States, that, to nourish a slave ill, is a mistaken economy; and that money employed in their purchase, does not render its interest. It is perhaps more owing to this consideration than to humanity, that you see free labour introduced



in a part of Virginia, in that part bordered by the beautiful river Shenadore. In travelling here, you will think yourself in Pennsylvania.

Such will be the face of all Virginia, when slavery shall be at an end. They think slaves necessary only for the cultivation of tobacco: this culture declines, and must decline in Virginia. The tobacco of the Ohio and the Mississippi is more abundant, of a better quality, and requires less labor. When this tobacco shall open its way to Europe, the Virginians will be obliged to cease from this culture, and ask of the earth, wheat, corn, and potatoes; they will make meadows, and rear cattle. The wise Virginians anticipate this revolution, and begin the culture of wheat. At their head may be reckoned that astonishing man, who, though an adored general, had the courage to be a sincere republican; who alone seems ignorant of his own glory; whose singular destiny it will be to have twice saved his country, to have opened to her the road to prosperity, after having conducted her to liberty. At present, wholly occupied in ameliorating his lands, in varying their produce, in opening roads and canals, he gives his countrymen an useful example, which doubtless will be followed.

He has nevertheless (must I say it) a numerous crowd of slaves; but they are treated with the greatest humanity; well fed, well clothed, and kept to moderate labour; they bless God without ceasing, for having given them so good a master. It is a task worthy of a soul so elevated, so pure, and so disinterested, to begin the revolution in Virginia, to prepare the way for the emancipation of the negroes. This great man declared to me, that he rejoiced at what was doing in other States on this subject; that he sincerely desired the extension of it in his own country: but he did not dissemble, that there were still many ob-

stacles to be overcome; that it was dangerous to strike too vigorously at a prejudice which had begun to diminish; that time, patience, and information, would not fail to vanquish it. Almost all the Virginians, added he, believe that the liberty of the Blacks cannot soon become general. This is the reason why they wish not to form a society, which may give dangerous ideas to their slaves. There is another obstacle—the great plantations of which the State is composed, render it necessary for men to live so dispersed, that frequent meetings of a society would be difficult.

I replied, that the Virginians were in an error, that evidently sooner or later the negroes would obtain their liberty every where. It is then for the interest of your country-men to prepare the way to such a revolution, by endeavouring to reconcile the resituation of the rights of the Blacks with the interest of the Whites. The means necessary to be taken to this effect, can only be the work of a society; and it is worthy the saviour of America to put himself at their head, and to open the door of liberty to three hundred thousand unhappy beings of his own State. He told me, that he desired the formation of a society, and that he would second it; but that he did not think the moment favourable—doubtless more elevated views absorbed his attention, and filled his soul. The destiny of America was just ready to be placed a second time in his hands.\*

It is certainly a misfortune that such a society does not exist in Virginia and Maryland; for it is to the persevering zeal of those of Philadelphia and New York, that we owe the progress of this revolution in America, and the formation of the society in London.

Why am I unable to paint to you the impressions I received in attending the meetings of these different socie-

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\* De Warville here of course refers to Washington.—Publisher.

ties? What serenity in the countenances of the members! What simplicity in their discourses, candour in their discussions, beneficence and energy in their decisions! Each seemed eager to speak, not to shew his brilliance, but to be useful.

With what joy they learned that a like society was formed at Paris, in that capital so renowned for its opulence and luxury, for its influence over a vast kingdom, and through most of the States of Europe! They hastened to publish it in all the gazettes, as likewise the translation of the first discourse pronounced in that society. They saw with joy, in the list of the members, the name of La Fayette, and that of other persons known for their energy and patriotism.

They did not doubt, if this society should brave the first obstacles that attend it, and should unite itself with that of London, but that the information which they might give on the slave trade, and its unprofitable infamy, would enlighten the governments of Europe, and determine them to suppress it.

It is doubtless to this effusion of joy, and to the flattering recommendations which I carried from Europe, rather than to my feeble efforts, that I owe the honor of being received a member of these societies. They did not confine themselves to this; they appointed committees to assist me in my labours, and their archives were opened to me.

These beneficent societies are at present contemplating new projects for the completion of their work of justice and humanity. They are endeavouring to form similar institutions in other States, and they have succeeded in the State of Delaware. The business of these societies is not only to extend light and information to legislatures, and to the people at large,\* on the objects they have in view,

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\*In 1787, the Society of New York offered a gold medal for the best discourse, at the public commencement at the college, on the injustice and cruelty of the slave trade, and the fatal effects of slavery.

and to form the Blacks by early instruction in the duties of citizens; but they extend gratuitous protection to them in all cases of individual oppression, and make it their duty to watch over the execution of the laws which have been obtained in their favour. Mr. Myers Fisher, one of the first lawyers of Philadelphia, is always ready to lend his assistance, which he generally does with success, and always without reward. These societies have committees in different parts of the country, to take notice of any infractions of these laws of liberty, and to propose to the legislature such amendments as experience may require.

Appendix to the preceding letter, written in 1791.

My wishes have not been disappointed. The progress of these societies is rapid in the United States; there is one already formed even in Virginia;\* even there, men have dared to publish that truth which has so often made avarice to tremble—that truth which formerly would have been stifled in a Bastille: God has created men of all nations, of all languages, of all colours, equally free: Slavery in all its forms, in all its degrees, is a violation of the divine laws, and a degradation of human nature.

Believe it, my dear friend, these truths conveyed in all the public papers, will complete the extirpation of that odious slavery, which the nature of things in that country is destroying with great rapidity. For you may well imagine, that, in the rage of emigration to the western territory\* the negroes find it easy to fly from slavery, and that they are well received wherever they go.

The solemn examples given by great men, will contribute much to this revolution in principle. What proprietor of human beings does not blush for himself, on seeing the celebrated General Gates assemble his numerous

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\*A similar society is lately formed in the State of Connecticut, probably not known to M. de Warville.—Translator.

\*In all the constitutions of the new States forming in the western territory, it is declared, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude.

slaves, and, in the midst of their caresses and tears of gratitude, restore them all to liberty; and in such a manner as to prevent any fatal consequences that might result to them from the sudden enjoyment of so great a benefit?

The society of Philadelphia, which may be regarded as the father of these holy institutions, has lately taken more effectual measures, both to instruct the Blacks, and to form them to different employments.

“The wretch,” say they, in their address to the public, “who has long been treated as a beast of burthen, is often degraded so far as to appear of a species inferior to that of other men; the chains which bind his body, curb likewise his intellectual faculties, and enfeeble the social affections of his heart.”

To instruct and counsel those who are free, and render them capable of enjoying civil liberty; to excite them to industry; to furnish them with occupations suitable to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances; and to procure to their children an education suitable to their station, are the principal objects of this society.

For this end they have appointed four committees: First, a committee of inspection, to watch over the morals and general conduct of the free Blacks; second, a committee of guardians, whose business it is to place the children with honest tradesmen and others, to acquire trades; third, a committee of education, to oversee the schools; fourth, a committee of employ, who find employment for those who are in a situation to work. What friend of humanity does not leap with joy at the view of an object so pious and sublime? Who does not perceive it is dictated by that spirit of perseverance, which animates men of dignity, habituated to good actions, not from ostentation, but from a consciousness of duty? Such are the men who compose these American societies. They will never aban-

don this good work, until they have carried it to its last degree of perfection; that is to say, until, by gentle and equitable means, they shall have placed the Blacks in every respect on a footing with the Whites. Yet these are the celestial societies which infamous avarice blushes not to calumniate.

The perseverance with which these societies have extended their principles in their writings, brought forward last year, a debate in Congress, on the subject of procuring a revocation of that article in the constitution, which suspends the power of Congress for twenty years on the subject of the slave trade.

I ought to have mentioned to you, in my letter, an eloquent address to the general convention of 1787, from the society of Pennsylvania. I will cite to you the close of it:

“We conjure you,” say they, “by the attributes of the divinity, insulted by this inhuman traffic; by the union of all the human race in our common father, and by all the obligations resulting from this union; by the fear of the just vengeance of God in national judgments; by the certainty of the great and terrible day of the distribution of rewards and punishments; by the efficacy of the prayers of good men, who would insult the Majesty of Heaven, if they were to offer them in favour of our country, as long as the iniquity we now practice continues its ravages among us; by the sacred name of Christians; by the pleasures of domestic connections, and the anguish of their dissolution; by the sufferings of our American brethren, groaning in captivity at Algiers, which Providence seems to have ordained to awaken us to a sentiment of the injustice and cruelty of which we are guilty towards the wretched Africans; by the respect due to consistency in the principles and conduct of true republicans; by our great and intense desire of extending happiness to the millions

of intelligent beings who are doubtless one day to people this immense continent; finally, by all other considerations, which religion, reason, policy, and humanity can suggest; we conjure the convention of the United States, to make the suppression of the slave trade a subject of serious deliberation."

Addresses from all parts of the United States, signed by the most respectable men, have been presented to the new Congress. Never was a subject more warmly debated; and, what never happened before in America, it gave occasion to the most atrocious invectives from the adversaries of humanity. You will not doubt that these adversaries were the deputies from the South. I except, however, the virtuous Maddison, and especially Mr. Vining, brother of that respectable woman so unjustly outraged by Mr. Chastellux. He defended, with a real eloquence, the cause of the Blacks.

I must not forget to name among the advocates of humanity, Mess. Scott, Gerry, and Boudinot. You will be astonished to find among their adversaries the first denunciator of the Cincinnati, Mr. Burke; he who unfolded, with so much energy, the fatal consequences of the inequality which this order would introduce among the citizens; and the same man could support the much more horrible inequality established between the whites and blacks. You will be still more astonished to learn, that he uniformly employed the language of invective. This is the weapon that the partizans of slavery always use in America, in England, and in France.

One of the most ardent petitioners to Congress in this cause, was the respectable Warner Mifflin. His zeal was rewarded with atrocious calumnies, which he always answered with mildness, forgiveness, and argument.

## LETTER XXIII

ON REPLACING THE SUGAR OF THE CANE BY  
THE SUGAR OF MAPLE

On this continent, my friend, so polluted and tormented with slavery, Providence has placed two powerful and infallible means of destroying this evil. The means are, the societies of which we have been speaking, and the sugar-maple.

Of all the vegetables containing sugar, this maple, after the sugar-cane, contains the greatest quantity. It grows naturally in the United States, and may be propagated with great facility. All America seems covered with it, from Canada to Virginia; it becomes more rare at the southward, on the east of the mountains; but it is found in abundance in the back country.

Such is the beneficent tree which has, for a long time, recompensed the happy colonists, whose position deprived them of the delicate sugar of our islands.

They have till lately contented themselves with bestowing very little labour on the manufacture, only bringing it to a state of common coarse sugar; but since the Quakers have discerned in this production, the means of destroying slavery, they have felt the necessity of carrying it to perfection; and success has crowned their endeavours.

You know, my friend, all the difficulties attending the cultivation of the cane. It is a tender plant; it has many enemies, and requires constant care and labour to defend it from numerous accidents; add to these, the painful efforts that the preparation and manufacture costs to the wretched Africans; and, on comparing these to the advantages of the maple, you will be convinced, by a new argument, that much pains are often taken to commit unprofitable crimes. The maple is produced by nature; the



sap to be extracted, requires no preparatory labour; it runs in February and March, a season unsuitable for other rural operations. Each tree, without injury to itself, gives twelve or fifteen gallons, which will produce at least five pounds of sugar. A man aided by four children, may easily, during four weeks running of the sap, make fifteen hundred pounds of sugar.\*

Advantages, like these, have not failed to excite the attention of the friends of humanity; so that, besides the societies formed for the abolition of slavery, another is formed, whose express object is to perfect this valuable production.

Mr. Drinker† of Philadelphia, made, last year, sixty barrels of maple sugar on his estate on the Delaware; and he has published a pamphlet on the best method of proceeding in this manufacture.

Edward Pennington, of Philadelphia, formerly a refiner in the West Indies, has declared this sugar equal to that of the islands, in grain, colour, and taste.

The cultivators in the State of New York perceive, in an equal degree, the advantages of this production; they have made, this year, a great quantity of sugar, and brought it to great perfection.

Whenever there shall form from North to South a firm coalition, an ardent emulation to multiply the produce of this divine tree, and especially when it shall be

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\*M. Lanthenas, one of the most enlightened defenders of the Blacks in France, has made some calculations on this subject, which cannot be too often repeated. Supposing, says he, that a family will produce in a season 1,500 lbs. of sugar, 80,000 families will produce, and that with very little trouble, a quantity equal to what is exported from St. Domingo in the most plentiful year, which is reckoned at one hundred and twenty millions. This supposes twenty millions of trees, rendering five pounds each, estimating the acre of the United States at 38,476 square feet of France; and supposing the trees planted at seven feet distance, about 30,000 acres appropriated to this use, would suffice for the above quantity of sugar.

†Some of the following facts took place in 1789 and 1790, as my friends have written me from Philadelphia. I thought proper to insert them in this letter, to which they belong.

deemed an impiety to destroy it,\* not only America may supply herself, but she may fill the markets of Europe with a sugar, the low price of which will ruin the sale of that of the islands—a produce washed with the tears and the blood of slaves.

What an astonishing effect it would produce, to naturalize this tree through all Europe! In France, we might plant them at twenty feet distance, in a kind of orchard, which would at the same time produce pasture, fruits, and other vegetables. In this manner an acre would contain 140 trees, which, even when young, would produce three pounds of sugar a year. This would give 420 pounds the acre, which, at threepence sterling the pound, and deducting one-half for the labour, would yield annually 52s. 6d. sterling, clear profit; besides other productions, which these trees would not impede. This calculation might be reasonably carried much higher; but I chose to keep it as low as possible.\*

Thus we should obtain a profitable production in Europe, and diminish so many strokes of the whip, which our luxury draws upon the Blacks. Why is it, in our capital, where the delicacy of sentiment is sometimes equal to that of sensation, no societies are formed, whose object should be to sweeten their coffee with a sugar not embittered by the idea of the excessive tears, cruelties, and crimes, without which these productions have not been hitherto pro-

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\*A farmer has published that no less than three millions of the maple trees are destroyed annually in clearing the lands in the single State of New York. It is certainly worthy the care of every legislature in the Union, to prevent the destruction of so useful a tree, which seems to have been planted by the hand of heaven, for the consolation of man.

\*The author ought to have carried the idea further. The sugar maple for fuel is equal to the best oak; for cabinet work, and many similar uses, it is superior to most of the species of wood used in Europe; as a tree of ornament and pleasure, it is at least equal to the elm or poplar. How many million of young trees, for the above uses, are planted every year in all parts of Europe, to renew and perpetuate the forests, the public walks, the public and private gardens and parks, to border the great roads, etc.; for all these purposes the sugar maple might be planted, and the juice to be drawn from it might be reckoned a clear profit to the world. The experiment of M. Noailles, in his garden at St. Germain, proves that this American tree would succeed well in Europe.—Translator.

cured—an idea which cannot fail to present itself to the imagination of every humane and enlightened man. Our devotees, our ignorant and inhuman priests, who never fail to be great lovers of coffee and sugar, would, by these means, be saved from the horrible part which they take in the most enormous crime on which the sun ever shone. In consuming these articles, do they not encourage those whose guilt is more direct in the operation of producing them, and yet, with what coldness, with what culpable indifference, do these pious men look upon our Society of the Friends of the Blacks!

#### LETTER XXIV

##### ON A PLAN FOR THE RE-EMIGRATION OF THE BLACKS OF THE UNITED STATES TO AFRICA

I have already, my friend, given you a sketch of the ideas of Dr. Thornton on this subject. This ardent friend of the Blacks is persuaded, that we cannot hope to see a sincere union between them and the Whites, as long as they differ so much in colour, and in their rights as citizens. He attributes to no other cause, the apathy perceivable, in many Blacks, even in Massachusetts, where they are free. Deprived of the hope of electing or being elected representatives, or of rising to any places of honour and trust, the Negroes seem condemned to drag out their days in a state of servility, or to languish in the shops of retail. The Whites reproach them with a want of cleanliness, indolence, and inattention. But how can they be industrious and active, while an insurmountable barrier separates them from other citizens?

Even on admitting them to all the rights of citizens, I know not if it would be possible to effect a lasting and sincere union; we are so strongly inclined to love our likeness, that there would be unceasing suspicions, jealousies,

and partialities, between the Whites and Blacks. We must then recur to the project of Mr. Thornton—a project first imagined by that great apostle of philanthropy, Doctor Fothergill—a project executed by the Society of London, or rather by the beneficent Grenville Sharp—a project for restoring the Negroes to their country, to establish them there, and encourage them in the cultivation of coffee, sugar, cotton, etc., to carry on manufacture, and to open a commerce with Europe. Mr. Thornton has occupied himself with this consoling idea. He proposed himself to be the conductor of the American Negroes who should repair to Africa. He proposed to unite them to the new colony at Sierra-Leona. He had sent, at his own expence, into Africa, a well-instructed man, who had spent several years in observing the productions of the country, the manufactures most suitable to it, the place most convenient, and the measures necessary to be taken to secure the colony from insults, and everything was prepared. He had communicated his plan to some members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, who did not at first relish it. They liked better to give lands to their Negroes, and encourage them in the cultivation. But, says the Doctor, what can they do with their land, unaccustomed to war, and surrounded by savages? Supposing them to succeed, will you admit their representatives to sit in your Assemblies, to preside over you? No. Restore them then to their native country.

The Doctor was persuaded, that when his design should be known, thousands of the Negroes would follow him. He had remarked, as well as I, the injustice of reproaching them with the spirit of idleness. If they are lazy, says he, why so much expence to go and steal them from their country for the sake of their labour?

His reasoning begins to convince men of reflection, and his plan gives a solution to the problem of Mr. Jefferson. See Notes on Virginia.

The State of Massachusets has since received a request from the Negroes, for the execution of the project. They have promised to give aid to it, as soon as they shall be assured of a situation in Africa proper for a good establishment; they have even promised to furnish vessels, instruments, provisions, etc.

What advantage would result to Africa, to Europe, and even to America, from the execution of this plan! For the Blacks of Africa would gradually civilize by the assistance of those from America; and the Whites, whom they ought to execrate, would never mingle with them. By this civilization, Europe would open a vast market to her manufacturers, and obtain, at a cheap rate, and without the effusion of blood, those productions which cost her at the islands so much money and so many crimes. God grant that this idea may soon be realized.\*

A Society is formed in England, whose object is to follow the establishment of Sierra Leona, and open a trade there for the productions of the country. This settlement is on land belonging to the English, and dependent on the English Government.

Another society is formed, whose object is partly the same, but who wish to render this establishment independent of every European Government. They have lately published their plan, under the following title: Plan of a free Community on the Coast of Africa, formed under the protection of Great Britain, but entirely independent of all European Government and Laws; with an invitation,

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\*To perceive the advantages, read the work entitled, "L'Amiral refute par lui-meme," and see the efforts made in England, to establish colonies in Africa, and to civilize the Blacks,

under certain conditions, to those who may desire to partake of the advantages of this undertaking.

In this plan, of which every friend to humanity must wish the success, it is declared, that the Society is founded on the principle of universal philanthropy, and not simply for the necessities of commerce—advantages too much prized; as is the happiness of all the human race consisted in the acquisition of wealth.

### LETTER XXV

ON PHILADELPHIA, ITS BUILDINGS,  
POLICE, ETC.

In considering the vices which tarnish Old Europe, and the mild fraternity that unites the Quakers, Voltaire sometimes flew off in imagination beyond the seas, and longed to go and finish his days in the City of Brothers. What would he have said, had he been able to have realized his dream, and to have been a witness of the peace which reigns in this town? I am wrong; Voltaire would have hastened to return to Europe; he burned with the love of glory; he lived upon incense, and he would have received but little here. The gravity of the Quakers would have appeared to him a gloomy pedantry, he would have yawned in their assemblies, and been mortified to see his epigrams pass without applause; he would have sighed for the sparkling wit of his amiable sops of Paris.

Philadelphia may be considered as the metropolis of the United States. It is certainly the finest town, and the best built; it is the most wealthy, though not the most luxurious. You find here more men of information, more political and literary knowledge, and more learned societies. Many towns in America are more ancient; but Philadelphia has surpassed her elders.

The Swedes were first established on the spot where this town has since been built. The Swedish church on the banks of the Delaware is more than one hundred years old. It is the oldest church in the town, at present under the care of Dr. Collins, a Swedish minister of great learning and merit. He writes very well in English, and has composed many works in that language; among which is the *Foreign Spectator*, in which he unfolds the soundest principles of republican policy. He is a fervent apostle of liberty.

Penn brought into his new colony a government truly fraternal. Brothers who live together, have no need of soldiers, nor forts, nor police, nor that formidable apparatus which makes of European towns garrisons of war.

At ten o'clock in the evening all is tranquil in the streets; the profound silence which reigns there, is only interrupted by the voice of the watchmen, who are in small numbers, and who form the only patrol. The streets are lighted by lamps, placed like those of London.

On the side of the streets are footways of brick, and gutters constructed of brick or wood. Strong posts are placed to prevent carriages from passing on the footways. All the streets are furnished with public pumps, in great numbers. At the door of each house are placed two benches, where the family sit at evening to take the fresh air, and amuse themselves in looking at the passengers. It is certainly a bad custom, as the evening air is unhealthful, and the exercise is not sufficient to correct this evil, for they never walk here; they supply the want of walking, by riding out into the country. They have few coaches at Philadelphia. You see many handsome waggons, which are used to carry the family into the country; they are a kind of long carriage, light and open, and may contain twelve persons. They have many chairs and sulkeys, open

on all sides; the former may carry two persons, the latter only one.

The horses used in these carriages are neither handsome nor strong; but they travel very well. I have not yet met with those fine horses of which M. de Crevecoeur speaks, and which I thought were equal to the enormous breed of Flanders. I suspect the Americans of not taking sufficient care of their horses, and of nourishing them ill; they give them no straw in the stable; on returning from long and fatiguing courses, they are sent to pasture.

Philadelphia is built on a regular plan; long and large streets cross each other at right angles; this regularity, which is a real ornament, is at first embarrassing to a stranger; he has much difficulty in finding himself, especially as the streets are not inscribed and the doors not numbered. It is strange that the Quakers, who are so fond of order, have not adopted these two conveniences; that they have not borrowed them from the English, of whom they have borrowed so many things. This double defect is a torment to strangers. The shops, which adorn the principal streets, are remarkable for their neatness.

The State-house, where the Legislature assembles, is a handsome building; by its side they are building a magnificent house of justice.

Mr. Raynal has exaggerated everything; the buildings the library, the streets; he speaks of streets 100 feet wide; there is none of this width, except Market-street; they are generally from 50 to 60 feet wide. He speaks of wharfs of 200 feet; there is none such here; the wharfs in general are small and niggardly. He says they have everywhere followed the plan laid down by Mr. Penn in building their houses. They have violated it in building Water-street, where he had projected elegant wharfs. Raynal speaks likewise of houses covered with slate, and of marble monu-



ments in the churches, and in the halls of the State-house. I have seen nothing of all this.

Behind the State-house is a public garden; it is the only one that exists in Philadelphia. It is not large; but it is agreeable, and one may breathe in it. It is composed of a number of verdant squares, intersected by alleys.

All the space from Front-street on the Delaware to Front-street on the Skuykill, is already distributed into squares for streets and houses, they build here; but not so briskly as at New York. The inhabitants wish for the aggrandizement of their city; they are wrong; Philadelphia is already too considerable. When towns acquire this degree of population, you must have hospitals, prisons, soldiers, police, spies, and all the sweeping train of luxury; that luxury which Penn wished to avoid. It already appears; they have carpets, elegant carpets; it is a favourite taste with the Americans; they receive it from the interested avarice of their old masters, the English.

A carpet in summer is an absurdity; yet they spread them in this season, and from vanity; this vanity excuses itself by saying that the carpet is an ornament; that is to say, they sacrifice reason and utility to show.

The Quakers have likewise carpets; but the rigorous ones blame this practice. They mentioned to me an instance of a Quaker from Carolina, who, going to dine with one of the most opulent at Philadelphia, was offended at finding the passage from the door to the staircase covered with a carpet, and would not enter the house; he said that he never dined in a house where there was luxury; and that it was better to clothe the poor, than to clothe the earth.

If this man justly censured the prodigality of carpets, how much more severely ought he to censure the women of Philadelphia? I speak not here of the Quaker-women;

I refer my observations on them to the chapter which I reserve for that society. But the women of the other sects wear hats and caps almost as varied as those of Paris. They bestow immense expenses on their toilet and head-dress, and display pretensions too affected to be pleasing.

It is a great misfortune that, in republics, women should sacrifice so much time to trifles; and that men should likewise hold this taste in some estimation.

A very ingenious woman in this town is reproached with having contributed more than all others to introduce this taste for luxury. I really regret to see her husband, who appears to be well informed, and of an amiable character, affect, in his buildings and furniture, a pomp which ought forever to have been a stranger to Philadelphia; and why? to draw around him the gaudy prigs and parasites of Europe. And what does he gain by it? Jealousy; the reproach of his fellow-citizens, and the ridicule of strangers. When a man enjoys pecuniary advantages, and at the same time possesses genius, knowledge, reflection, and the love of doing good, how easy it is to make himself beloved and esteemed, by employing his fortune, and perhaps increasing it, in enterprises useful to the public!

Notwithstanding the fatal effects that might be expected here from luxury, we may say with truth, that there is no town where morals are more respected. Adultery is not known here; there is no instance of a wife, of any sect, who has failed in her duty.

This, I am told, is owing to what may be called the civil state of women. They marry without dower; they bring to their husbands only the furniture of their houses; and they wait the death of their parents, before they come to the possession of their property.

I have been informed, however, of a Mrs. Livingston, daughter of Doctor Shippen, who lives separated from her

husband. This separation was made by mutual agreement. This young woman married Mr. Livingston only in obedience to the father; obedience of this kind is very rare in this country. The father promised to take her again, if she should not be pleased with her husband; she was not pleased with him; the father received her, and she lives at present virtuous and respected.

You would not have so good an idea of the morals of this country, if you were to read a satire lately published, intitled *The Times*. The author is Mr. Markoe. He discovers a remarkable talent for poetry; a talent similar to that of our satyrist Guibert, who lately died in an hospital; but, like him, he paints with two high colours; and, like all poets, he often substitutes fable for truth. Mr. Markoe inspires the less confidence, as he dishonours his writings by an intemperate life. A satyrist, to be believed, and to be useful, ought to exhibit the most exceptionable morals.

The celebrated Paine, author of *Common Sense*, so much venerated by the French, is most cruelly treated in this satire. This is not the first that has been published against him; I have seen another, very severe, by an inhabitant of North-Carolina.

Mr. Paine has enjoyed great success here; it is not therefore suprising, that satires should be written against him. Whatever may be the cause of it, it cannot be denied, that his writings had a great effect on the American revolution; and this circumstance ought to place him in the rank of the benefactors of America.

I have seen another author at Philadelphia, who has imagination and wit; it is Mr. Crawford. He has published several poems; as likewise *Observations on the Slavery of the Negroes*, full of good sense and humanity. He has published an address of the famous George Fox to the Jews. Mr. Crawford has a turn for mystical ideas; this,

aided by great application to study, and an inflammable imagination, has led him to turns of insanity. He was formerly a deist, and has been converted by the celebrated Doctor Jebb.

There is no town in the continent where there is so much printing done as at Philadelphia. Gazettes and book-stores are numerous in the town, and paper mills in the State.

Among the printers and booksellers of this town, I remarked Mr. Carey, an Irish printer, who, for having published, in his journal of *The Volunteers of Ireland*, an article which wounded some people in place, particularly Mr. Foster, was persecuted, and obliged to fly to America. Being destitute of money, M. de la Fayette gave him assistance, and enabled him to establish a press, on condition that this act of generosity should remain a secret. Mr. Carey kept his word; but, having a public quarrel two years afterwards with another printer, Mr. Oswald, who quarrels with all the world, and who called in question the origin of Mr. Carey's fortune, he was obliged to reveal the secret.

This printer, who unites great industry with great information publishes a monthly collection, called *The American Museum*, which is equal to the best periodical publications in Europe. It contains everything the most important that America produces in the arts, in the sciences, and in politics. The part that concerns agriculture, is attended to with great care.

There are at present very few French merchants at Philadelphia. The failure of those who first came, discouraged others, and has put the Americans on their guard. I have endeavoured to discover the cause of these failures; and have found that the greater part of these French merchants had either begun with little property,

or had made imprudent purchases, or given themselves up to extravagant expences. Most of them were ignorant of the language, customs, and laws of the country; most of them were seduced by the high price which they received for their goods, in paper-money; imagining that this paper would soon rise to par, they amassed as much as possible of it, calculating on enormous profits; and thus fed the hopes of their correspondents in Europe. These hopes were disappointed. Some knowledge of business, of men, of politics, of revolutions, and of the country, would have taught them, that many years must elapse before the public debt could be paid. It became necessary to break the illusion, to sell this paper at a loss, in order to meet their engagements. But they had set up their equipages; they were in the habit of great expences, which they thought it necessary to continue for fear of losing their credit, for they measured Philadelphia on the scale of Paris. They foolishly imagined, that reasonable and enlightened men would suffer themselves, like slaves, to be duped by the glitter of parade; their profits ceased, their expenses multiplied, and the moment of bankruptcy arrived; they must justify themselves in the eyes of their correspondents, and of France; they accused the Americans of dishonesty, of perfidy, and of rascality. These calumniators ought to have accused their own ignorance, their folly, and their extravagant luxury.

Some Frenchmen paraded themselves here publicly with their mistresses, who displayed those light and wanton airs which they had practiced at Paris.\* You may judge of the offence which this indecent spectacle would give in a country where women are so reserved, and where the manners are so pure. Contempt was the consequence;

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\*One of these gentlemen had the impudence to present in some of the best families his mistress, not as his wife, but as his partner in trade. This woman was afterwards publicly kept by the ambassador. He had not respect enough for the morals of the country, to induce him to conceal his turpitude.

want of credit followed the contempt; and what is a merchant without credit?

Since the peace, the Quakers have returned to their commerce with great activity. The capitals which diffidence had for a long time locked up in their coffers, are now drawn out to give a spring to industry, and encourage commercial speculations. The Delaware sees floating the flags of all nations; and enterprises are there formed for all parts of the world. Manufactories are rising in the town and in the country; and industry and emulation increase with great rapidity. Notwithstanding the astonishing growth of Baltimore, which has drawn part of the commerce from Philadelphia, yet the energy of the ancient capitals of this town, the universal estimation in which the Quaker-merchants are held, and the augmentation of agriculture and population, supply this deficiency.

You will now be able to judge of the causes of the prosperity of this town. Its situation on a river navigable for the greatest ships, renders it one of the principal places of foreign commerce, and at the same time the great magazine of all the productions of the fertile lands of Pennsylvania, and of those of some of the neighbouring States. The vast rivers, which by their numerous branches communicate to all parts of the State, give a value of the lands, and attract inhabitants. The climate, less cold than that of the Northern States, and less warm than that of the South, forms another very considerable attraction.

But I firmly believe that it is not simply to those physical advantages that Pennsylvania owes her prosperity. It is to the manners of the inhabitants; it is to the universal tolerance which reigned there from the beginning; it is to the simplicity, economy, industry, and perseverance of the Quakers, which, centering in two points, agriculture and commerce, have carried them to a greater perfection

than they have attained among other sects. The cabin of a simple cultivator gives birth to more children than a gilded palace; and less of them perish in infancy.

And since the table of population of a country appears to you always the most exact measure of its prosperity, compare, at four different epochs, the number of inhabitants paying capitation in Pennsylvania.

1760	1770	1779	1786
31,667	39,765	45,683	66,925

You see that population has more than doubled in twenty-five years, notwithstanding the horrible depopulation of a war of eight years. Observe in this stating, that the Blacks are not included, which form about one-fifth of the population of the State. Observe, that by the calculation of the general convention in 1787, the number of Whites in this State was carried to 360,000; which supposes, very nearly, a wife and four children for every taxable head.

The public spirit which the Quakers manifest in everything, has given rise to several useful institutions in Philadelphia, which I have not yet mentioned. One of them is the Dispensary, which distributes medicines gratis to the sick who are not in a situation to purchase them.

See how easy and cheap it is to do good. Let those men blush, then, who dissipate their fortunes in luxury and in idleness! One thousand six hundred and forty-seven persons were treated by this establishment during the year 1787. By calculation this treatment cost to the establishment five shillings and nine pence for each patient. Thus, for two hundred pounds sterling, sixteen hundred and forty-seven persons are rendered happy.

To this public spirit, so ingenious in varying its benefits, is owing the Benevolent Institution, whose object it

is to succour, in their own houses, poor women in child-bed.

Another society has for its object to alleviate the situation of prisoners.

The Philadelphians confine not their attention to their brethren; they extend it to strangers; they have formed a society for the assistance of emigrants who arrive from Germany. A similar one is formed at New York, called the Hibernian Society, for the succour of emigrants from Ireland. These societies inform themselves, on the arrival of a ship, of the situation of the emigrants, and procure their immediate employ.

Here is a company for insurance against fire. The houses are constructed of wood and brick, and consequently exposed to the ravages of fire. The insurers are the insured, a method which prevents the abuses to which your company at Paris is exposed.

In the midst of all these things which excite my admiration and my tender regard, one trait of injustice gives me much pain, because it seems to tarnish the glory of Pennsylvania. Penn left to his family an immense property here. In the last war his descendants took part with the English government, and retired to England. The legislature of Pennsylvania passed a law, taking from them all their lands and their rents, and voted to give them for the whole, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. This sum was to have been paid in paper-money, which suffered then a considerable depreciation. The first term only has been paid.

It cannot be denied, that there was a great injustice in the estimation, in the mode of payment, and in the delay. The State of Pennsylvania has too much respect for property, and too much attachment to justice, not to repair its



wrongs one day to the family of Penn, which subsists at present only at the expence of the English nation.

## LETTER XXVI

### PROGRESS OF CULTIVATION IN PENNSYLVANIA

Hitherto, my friend, we have spoken only of farms already in good culture, and in the neighbourhood of towns. We must now penetrate farther, descend into the midst of the wilderness, and observe the man, detached from society, with his axe in his hand, felling the venerable oak, that had been respected by the savage, and supplying its place with the humble spire of corn. We must follow this man in his progress, observe the changes that his cabin undergoes, when it becomes the center of twenty other cabins which rise successively round it. An American farmer has communicated to me the principal traits of the rural picture which I am going to lay before you. The first planter,\* or he who begins a settlement in the woods, is generally a man who has lost his fortune and his credit in the cultivated part of the state. He emigrates in the month of April. His first work is to build a little cabin for himself and family; the roof is of rough hewn wood, the floor of earth. It is lighted by the door, or sometimes by a little window with oiled paper. A more wretched building adjoining it gives shelter to a cow and two miserable horses. This done, he attacks the trees that surround his cabin. To extirpate them by the root, would require too much labour. He contents himself by cutting them at two or three feet from the ground. The space thus cleared is then plowed, and planted with Indian corn. The soil, being

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\*As the translator recollects to have seen this fanciful description many times published in America, he was less anxious in re-translating it, to flatter the original author, by retaining all his ideas, than he was to save the credit of M. de Warville, by abridging the piece. Credulity is indeed a less fault in a traveller than prejudice; but it ought, however, to be corrected. Accounts like this put one in mind of Doctor Franklin's romance of Mary Baker, so religiously believed and copied by the Abbe Raynal, in his History of the Two Indies.

new, requires little culture; in the month of October it yields a harvest of forty or fifty bushels the acre. Even from the month of September, this corn furnishes a plentiful and agreeable nourishment to his family. Hunting and fishing, with a little grain, suffice, during the winter, for the subsistence of his family; while the cow and horses of our planter feed on the poor wild grass, or the buds of trees. During the first year, he suffers much from cold and hunger; but he endures it without repining. Being near the savages, he adopts their manners; his fatigue is violent, but it is suspended by long intervals of repose; his pleasures consist in fishing and hunting; he loves spiritous liquors; he eats, drinks, and sleeps in the room of his little cabin.

Thus roll away the first three years of our planter in laziness, independence, the variation of pleasure, and of labour. But population augments in his neighbourhood, and then his troubles begin. His cattle could before run at large; but now his neighbours force him to retain them within his little farm. Formerly the wild beasts gave subsistence to his family; they now fly a country which begins to be peopled by men, and consequently by enemies. An increasing society brings regulations, taxes, and the parade of laws; and nothing is so terrible to our independent planter as all these shackles. He will not consent to sacrifice a single natural right for all the benefits of government; he abandons then his little establishment, and goes to seek a second retreat in the wilderness, where he can recommence his labours, and prepare a farm for cultivation. Such are the charms of independence, that many men have begun the clearing of farms four times in different parts of this State.

It has been remarked, that the preaching of the Gospel always drives off men of this class. And it is not sur-

prising if we consider how much its precepts are opposed to the licentiousness of their manner of life. But the labour bestowed by the first planter gives some value to the farm, which now comes to be occupied by a man of the second class of planters. He begins by adding to his cabin a house. A saw-mill in the neighbouring settlement, furnishes him with boards. His house is covered with shingles, and is two stories high. He makes a little meadow, plants an orchard of two or three hundred apple-trees. His stable is enlarged; he builds a spacious barn of wood, and covers it with rye-straw. Instead of planting only Indian corn, he cultivates wheat and rye; the last is destined to make whisky. But this planter manages ill; his fields are badly plowed, never manured, and give but small crops. His cattle break through his fences, destroy his crops, and often cut off the hopes of the year. His horses are ill fed, and feeble; his cattle often die with hunger in the spring; his house and his farm give equal proofs of the want of industry; the glass of his windows has given place to old hats and rags. This man is fond of company; he drinks to excess; passes much of his time in disputing about politics. Thus he contracts debts, and is forced, after some years, to sell his plantation to a planter of the third and last class.

This is ordinarily a man of property, and of a cultivated mind. His first object is to convert into meadow all his land, on which he can conduct water. He then builds a barn of stone, sometimes a hundred feet in length, and forty in breadth. This defends his cattle from cold, and they eat less when kept warm, than when exposed to the frost. To spare the consumption of fuel, he makes use of economical stoves, and by this he saves immense labour in cutting and carting wood. He multiplies the objects of culture; besides corn, wheat, and rye, he cultivates oats

and buck-wheat. Near his house he forms a garden of one or two acres, which gives him quantities of cabbage, potatoes, and turnips. Near the spring which furnishes him with water, he builds a dairy-house. He augments the number, and improves the quality of his fruit-trees. His sons are always at work by his side; his wife and daughters quit their wheels for the labours of the harvest. The last object of industry is to build a house for his own use. This building is generally of stone; it is vast, well distributed, and well furnished. His horses and cattle, by their good appearance, their strength, and fecundity, prove that they are well fed, and well attended. His table abounds with delicate and various dishes. His kitchen flows with milk and honey. The ordinary drink of his family is beer, cyder, and wine; his wife and daughters manufacture their cloathing. In proportion as he grows rich, he perceives the value of the protection of the laws; he pays his taxes with punctuality; he contributes to the support of churches and schools, as the only means of insuring order and tranquillity.

Two-thirds of the farmers of Pennsylvania belong to this third class. It is to them that the State owes its ancient reputation and importance. If they have less of cunning than their neighbours of the South, who cultivate their lands by slaves, they have more of the republican virtues. It was from their farms that the American and French armies were principally supplied during the last war; it was from their produce that came those millions of dollars brought from the Havanna after the year 1780—millions which laid the foundation of the bank of North-America, and supported the American army till the peace.

This is a feeble sketch of the happiness of a Pennsylvania farmer; a happiness to which this State calls men of all countries and of all religions. It offers not the pleas-

ures of the Arcadia of the poets, or those of the great towns of Europe; but it promises you independence, plenty, and happiness—in return for patience, industry, and labour. The moderate price of lands, the credit that may be obtained, and the perfect security that the courts of justice give to every species of property, place these advantages within the reach of every condition of men.

I do not pretend here to give the history of all the settlements of Pennsylvania. It often happens, that the same man, or the same family, holds the place of the first and second, and sometimes of the third class of planters above described. In the counties near Philadelphia, you see vast houses of brick, and farms well cultivated, in the possession of the descendants, in the second or third degree, of the companions of William Penn.

This passion for emigration, of which I have spoken, will appear to you unaccountable—that a man should voluntarily abandon the country that gave him birth, the church where he was consecrated to God, the tombs of his ancestors, the companions and friends of his youth, and all the pleasures of polished society—to expose himself to the dangers and difficulties of conquering savage nature, is, in the eyes of a European philosopher, a phenomenon which contradicts the ordinary progress and principles of the actions of men. But such is the fact; and this passion contributes to increase the population of America, not only in the new settlements, but in the old states; for, when the number of farmers is augmented in any canton beyond the number of convenient farms, the population languishes, the price of land rises to such a degree as to diminish the profits of agriculture, encourage idleness, or turn the attention to less honourable pursuits. The best preventative of these evils is the emigration of part of the inhabitants. This part generally consists of the most idle

and dissipated, who necessarily become industrious in their new settlement; while the departure augments the means of subsistence and population to those left behind; as pruning increases the size of the tree, and the quantity of its fruits.

The third class of cultivators which I have described is chiefly composed of Germans. They make a great part of the population of Pennsylvania. It is more than a century since the first Germans were established here. They are regarded as the most honest, the most industrious and economical of the farmers. They never contract debts; they are, of all the Americans, the least attached to the use of rum and other ardent spirits. Thus their families are the most numerous. It is very common to see them have twelve or fourteen children.\* It is said, they have not so much information as the other Americans; and information is the soul of a Republican Government; but yet you find many men respectable for their knowledge and understanding amongst them, such as Rittenhouse, Kuhn, Mulhenberg, etc.

A principal cause of emigration in the back parts of Pennsylvania, is the hope of escaping taxes; yet the land-tax is very light, as it does not exceed a penny in the pound of the estimation; and the estimation is much under the value of the lands.

There is much irregularity in the land-tax, as likewise in the capitation, or poll-tax, but I see with pleasure, that bachelors pay more than married men.

## LETTER XXVII

### CLIMATE AND DISEASES OF PENNSYLVANIA

I have already spoken to you, my friend, of the climate of this happy town. The respectable Doctor Rush has just

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\*According to M. Moheau, one family in 25,000 in France has thirteen children; two have twelve.

communicated to me some new and curious details, which I will communicate.

This enlightened observer, in one energetic phrase, has pictured to me the variations incident to Philadelphia. We have, said he, the humidity of Great Britain in the Spring, the heat of Africa in Summer, the temperance of Italy in June, the sky of Egypt in Autumn, the snows of Norway and the ice of Holland during the Winter; the tempests, to a certain degree, of the West Indies in each season, and the variable winds of Great Britain in every month of the year.

Notwithstanding all these changes, the Doctor thinks, that the climate of Philadelphia is one of the most healthful in the world.

In dry weather, the air has a peculiar elasticity, which renders heat or cold less insupportable than they are in places more humid. The air never becomes heavy and fatiguing, but when the rains are not followed by the beneficial North-west. During the three weeks that I have passed here (in August and September) I have felt nothing of the languor of body, and depression of spirits, which I expected; though the heat has been very great, I found it supportable; nearly like that of Paris, but it caused a greater perspiration.

Doctor Rush has observed, as have many physicians of Europe, that the state of mind influences much on the health. He cited to me two striking examples of it. The English seamen wounded in the famous naval battle of the 12th of April, 1782, were cured with the greatest facility. The joy of victory gave to their bodies the force of health. He had made the same observations on the American soldiers wounded at the battle of Trenton.

Variability is the characteristic of the climate of Pennsylvania. It has changed by the clearing of lands, and the

diminution of waters, which formerly abounded in this part of America. Many creeks, and even rivers, have disappeared by degrees; and this is to be expected in a country where forests give place to cultivated fields.

These changes have produced happy effects on the health of the people. An old man of this country has observed to me, that the health of the Pennsylvanias augments in proportion to the cultivation of the country; that their visages are less pale than they were thirty or forty years past; that for some time the number of centenaries has increased, and that the septuagenaries are very numerous.

In 1782, there was such an extraordinary drought, that the Indian corn did not come to perfection, the meadows failed, and the soil became so inflammable, that in some places it caught fire, and the surface was burnt. This year it has been excessively rainy. On the 18th and 19th of August, there fell at Philadelphia seven inches of water. Wheat has suffered much this year from the rains.

Happily all parts of the country are not subject to the same variations of the atmosphere; so that a general scarcity is never known. If the harvest fails here, at fifty miles distance it abounds. You see that the heat here is about the same as at Paris, and that it is never so great as at Rome, since at the latter place the thermometer of Reaumur rises to 30 degrees. You see, that the Winter here is not much colder than at Paris, as it rarely descends more than to twelve degrees below the freezing point. There falls much more rain here than at Paris. The common quantity there is twenty inches in the year, and it has not been known but once in sixty years to rise to twenty-five, while the common quantity at Philadelphia is thirty-five inches. By comparing the climate of Philadelphia with that of Pekin, nearly in the same latitude, you will find,



from the tables of Kirwan, that the Winters are much colder, and the Summers much warmer, in that part of China, than at Philadelphia. Doctor Rush attributes the difference to this circumstance, that Pennsylvania is bordered with a vast extent of forest, and that the country about Pekin is generally and highly cultivated.

My friend Myers Fisher, who endeavours to explain the characters of men from the physical circumstances that surround them, has communicated to me an observation which he has made in that respect; it is, that the activity of the inhabitants of a country may be measured by the rapidity of its rivers, and the variations in its atmosphere.

He could see the dullness and indecision of the Virginians in the slow movement of the Potowmac; while the rapid current of the rivers of the North painted to him the activity of the people of New-England.

He told me, likewise, that the health of the people might very well consist with the variations of the air, provided that wise precautions were taken. This, as he assured me, was a part of the discipline of the Quakers. Thus, according to him, you may measure the longevity of the people of Pennsylvania by the sect to which they belong. That of the Quakers ought to be placed at the head of this table of longevity; that of the Moravians next; the Presbyterians next, etc.

Doctor Rush, whose observations in this respect are numerous, has told me, that sudden variations caused more diseases and deaths than either heat or cold constantly excessive. He instanced the rigorous winter of 1780, the burning summer of 1782, and the rainy summer of 1788. There were then few or no diseases; and those that happened were occasioned by imprudence, such as cold water drunk in heat, or spiritous liquors in cold. Plurisies and inflammatory disorders are much diminished within fifty

years. The months of May and June are considered as the most salubrious, and the valetudinarians are observed to be better in Summer and in Winter.

## LETTER XXVIII

### DISEASES THE MOST COMMON IN THE UNITED STATES. LONGEVITY

Among the diseases of the United States, the consumption doubtless makes the greatest ravages. It was unknown to the original inhabitants of the country; it is then the result of European habits of life transported to this new Continent. It is more common in the towns than in the country; it destroys more women than men; it is a languid disorder, which drags, by slow steps, its victim to the tomb; each day plunges the dagger deeper in his breast, and renders more visible the incurable wound. Death, without ceasing, stares him in the face, and throws a funeral shroud over the remainder of his days. The world and its pleasures disappear; the ties of friendship are the only ones that are strengthened and endeared, and which double the bitterness of his approaching dissolution. The consumption, in a word, is a long continued agony, a slow tormenting death.

The physicians of this country attribute it to different causes; to the excessive use of hot drinks, such as tea and coffee; to the habit of remaining too long in bed, and the use of feather-beds, for they know not the use of mattresses; to the custom of eating too much meat, and of drinking too much spiritous liquors. Women are more subject to it than men; because, independently of the above causes, they take but little exercise, which is the only powerful remedy against the stagnation of humours, the great principle of the marasma; they taste but little the pleasures of walking; a movement which, varying the spectacle of nature,

gives a refreshment to the senses, a new spring to the blood, and a new vigour to the soul.

A particular cause of consumptions amongst the Quaker women is doubtless the habit of gravity and immobility which they contract in early life, and which they preserve for hours together in their silent meetings. The women of the other sects are equally attacked by consumptions, but it is attributed to different causes; they are fond of excessive dancing; heated with this, they drink cold water, eat cold unripe fruits, drink boiling tea, go thinly clad in winter, and give no attention to the sudden changes of weather. The Quakers are more reasonable in these respects; but they balance these advantages by a fatal neglect of exercise. To preserve good health, a female should have the gaiety of a woman of fashion, with the prudence and precaution of a Quaker.

A moral or political cause may likewise aid us in explaining why women are more subject to consumptions than men. It is the want of a will, or a civil existence. The submission to which women are habituated, has the effect of chains, which compress the limbs, cause obstructions, deaden the vital principle, and impede the circulation. The depression of the mind has a tendency to enfeeble the body. This submission to fathers and husbands is more remarkable among the Quakers, than among the other sects. The time will doubtless come, when we shall be convinced that physical health, as well as political happiness, may be greatly promoted by equality and independence of opinions among all the members of society.

Consumptions, however, are not so numerous in America as is generally imagined. This name is ignorantly given to many other disorders, which reduce the body to the same meagre state which follows a decay of the lungs. This appearance deceives, and may easily deceive the at-

tendants of the sick, who give information to those who keep the bills of mortality.

Another disease very common here, is the sore-throat; when putrid, it is mortal. It generally proceeds from excessive heats, cold drinks, and carelessness in cloathing.

When we reflect that Europe was formerly subject to these epidemical diseases, and that they have disappeared in proportion to the progress of cultivation, we are tempted to believe that they belong to new countries in the infancy of cultivation.

The disease known in Europe by the name of influenza, is likewise common in America; it made great ravages in 1789. It began in Canada, passed through New York, and very soon infected Pennsylvania and the Southern States. Its symptoms are lassitude, feebleness, chills, heats, and the head-ache. It respects no age or sex, and especially precipitates to the tomb those who were attacked by the consumption.

The fever and ague may be ranked in the class of these cruel epidemics; but it is more terrible, as its returns are annual. It not only visits the marshy countries and the sea-coast, but it is seen even in the healthy region of Albany. It is combated by the Peruvian bark; but the most successful remedy, is a journey among the mountains, or into the northern States. This fever, more humane than men, subjects not to its empire the black slaves. This exemption is attributed to a custom they preserve with obstinacy, of keep fires always in their cabbins, even in the hottest season. The negroes are accustomed to consider excessive heat as a guarantee of health; and you will see a negress, while she labours in the field, in the ardour of a burning sun, expose her infant to its fires, rather than lay it under the refreshing shade of a tree. This negress has not heard of the curious experiments of Dr. Inginhouse

on the fatal effects of shades and the night air, but you see that she knows their effects.

Among the maladies common in the United States, must be reckoned the pleurisy and the peripneumony, though they are less frequent than formerly. The small-pox, which formerly made such havocks in the United States, is less formidable since the general practice of inoculation.

There are many physicians at Philadelphia, and you will perhaps assign this as the cause of so many diseases. You will be wrong. They are said to be skilful; they are generally strangers to quackery. I know some of them who are highly respectable, as well for their virtues, as for their knowledge; such as Rush, Griffiths, Wisneer; the last are Quakers.

The greatest part of these physicians are, at the same time, apothecaries. They continue to unite these two sciences, out of respect to the people, who wish that the man who orders the medicine should likewise prepare it. There are, however, other apothecaries, of whom the physicians purchase their drugs.

The practice of this country is the English practice; that is, they are much in the use of violent remedies. Laxatives are little in use. Almost all the physicians of this country are formed at the school of Edinburgh, and this is the cause of their predilection for the English practice.

I know a Dr. Bailly of this country, a man of good abilities, but perhaps too inflammable and too caustic, who, much irritated at the preference given by his countrymen to the English practice, was resolved to open a communication between this country and the schools of France. This resolution did him the more honour, as he was known in politics for an Anglican, and a decided royalist.

## LETTER XXIX

LONGEVITY AND CALCULATIONS ON THE PROBABILITIES  
OF LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

You may think, perhaps, after the account that I have given you of the maladies which afflict America, that human life is shorter here than in Europe. It is a prejudice; and as it has been accredited by many writers, and by some even who have travelled in America, it becomes a duty to destroy it.

The Abbe Robin, one of these travellers, has declared, that after the age of twenty-five, the American women appear old; that children die here in greater proportion than in Europe; that there are very few old people, etc., etc. M. Paw, I believe, has uttered these fables before him. Nothing is more false. I have observed with care the women between thirty and fifty years of age; they have generally a good appearance, good health, and are even agreeable. I have seen them of fifty, with such an air of freshness, that they would not have been taken by an European for more than forty. I have seen women of sixty and seventy, sparkling with health. I speak here especially of the women of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

In Pennsylvania you do not see the same tints adorn the interesting visages of the daughters and wives of the Quakers; they are generally pale.

I have paid attention to their teeth. I have seen of them that are fine; and where they are otherwise, it is, as in England, more owing to hot drinks than to the climate.

Not only the number of aged persons are more considerable here than in Europe, as I am going to prove to you, but they preserve generally their faculties, intellectual and physical.

I was told of a minister at Ipswich in Massachusetts, who preached very well at ninety years of age; another,

of the same age, walked on foot to church on Sunday twenty miles. A Mr. Temple died at the age of an hundred in 1765, and left four daughters and four sons of the following ages, 86, 85, 83, 81, 79, 77, 75, 73.

But I will not confine myself to such light observations. I will give you some tables of mortality, and of the probabilities of life, in this country. This is the only method of conveying to you certain information.

Tables of longevity may be every where considered as the touchstone of Governments; the scale on which may be measured their excellencies and their defects, the perfection or degradation of the human species.

The general causes of longevity are,

1. The salubrity of the atmosphere and of the country.
2. The abundance and goodness of the aliments.
3. A life regular, active, and happy.

We must, then, consider the exterior circumstances as relative to the occupations of men, to their morals, to their religion, and their government.

Wherever property is centered in a few hands, where employment is precarious and dependent, life is not so long; it is cut off by grief and care, which abridge more the principle of life than even want itself. Wherever the government is arbitrary, and tyranny descends in divisions from rank to rank, and falls heavy on the lower classes, life must be short among the people, because they are slaves; and a miserable slave, trampled on at every moment, can enjoy neither that ease, nor that regularity, nor that interior satisfaction, which sustains the principles of life. The excesses and mortifications attending on ambition, abridge, in an equal degree, the life of the class which tyrannizes.

On applying these morals and political considerations to the United States, you may conclude, that there can be

no country where the life of man is of longer duration; for, to all the advantages of nature, they unite that of a liberty, which has no equal on the Old Continent; and this liberty, let us not cease to repeat it, is the principle of health. If any Government should wish to revive the speculation of life annuities on selected heads, I should advise to select them in the North of the United States.

It is difficult here to obtain regular tables of births and deaths. There are some sects who do not baptize their children, and whose registers are not carefully kept; others who baptize only their adults. Some of the sick have no physicians or surgeons, and their attendants who give the information are not exact. The constant fluctuations occasioned by emigrations and immigrations, still increase the difficulty. Yet we may approach near the truth, by taking for examples such seaports as are more occupied in the coasting trade than in long voyages; it is for this reason that I have chosen the towns of Salem and Ipswich in Massachusetts. I take these tables from the *Memoirs of the Academy of Boston*—*Memoirs* little known in France.

Doctor Halley, for the standard of his tables of mortality, chose Breslaw in Germany, on account of its interior situation and the regular employment of its inhabitants. By the calculations of these political arithmeticians, five persons in twelve die at Breslaw before the age of five years.

At Ipswich, a village at the Northward of Boston, six only in thirty-three die within that age. At Breslaw, one in thirty attains the age of eighty years; at Ipswich, one in eight. This disproportion is enormous; and this longevity is found in many other parts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.



At Woodstock, in Connecticut, one hundred and thirteen persons have died in eleven years; of these twenty-one were seventy years old and upwards, and thirteen were eighty and upwards. This gives something more than the proportion of an octogenary in nine. These facts are taken from authentic registers.

The minister of Andover in New Hampshire, a respectable and well informed man, has assured me, that more than one in eight males and females in his neighbourhood, pass the age of seventy years; and that this observation is the result of long experience in that and the neighbouring parishes.

Compare these facts to those stated by M. Moheau.\* He says, that in the Island of Oerlon, of 14,000 inhabitants, there are but five or six octogenaries, and but one for forty-two is in the list of deaths in the Isle of Rhe, which is reckoned remarkably healthful.

The minister of Andover made to me another observation, which tends to confirm a system advanced by an author whose name I forget. It is, that men of letters enjoy the greatest longevity. He told me, that the oldest men were generally found among the Ministers. This fact will explain some of the causes of longevity; such as regularity of morals, information, independence of spirit, and easy circumstances.

But you will be better able to judge of the longevity in the United States, by the table of the probabilities of life given to me by the respectable Doctor Wigglesworth, of the University of Cambridge. It contains a comparison of these probabilities in New England, in England, in Sweden, in Germany, in Holland, and in France.

The first column gives the ages; the following one gives, by years, and decimal parts of a year, the probabilities of

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\*See *Recherches et Considerations sur la Population de la France*, page 192.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE PROBABILITIES OF LIFE IN NEW ENGLAND AND IN EUROPE

NEW ENGLAND.				ENGLAND.					
Ages.	Graduates of Harvard College.	Hingham, in Massachusetts.	Dover, in New Hampshire.	London, Simpson's Tables.	Norwich.	Northampton.	CHESTER.		Holy Cross, near Shrewsbury.
							Males.	Females.	
25	36.07	35.46	37.89	26.1	31.56	30.85	32.00	34.78	35.58
30	33.40	33.81	34.97	23.6	28.93	28.27	29.25	32.27	32.66
35	30.70	30.83	31.89	21.5	26.05	25.68	25.97	29.26	29.43
40	26.45	28.28	28.74	19.6	23.18	23.08	22.92	26.37	26.40
45	22.9	25.11	25.80	17.8	20.78	20.52	20.20	23.50	23.35
50	19.86	22.08	22.79	16.0	17.55	17.99	17.64	20.62	20.49
55	17.75	18.47	19.22	14.2	14.87	15.58	15.14	17.52	17.47
60	14.63	15.20	15.49	12.4	12.36	13.21	12.36	14.20	14.86
65	11.31	12.29	12.98	10.5	10.05	10.88	10.79	11.94	12.30
70	10.01	9.68	10.46	8.8	8.12	8.60	8.05	8.81	10.00
75	8.39	7.63	8.40	7.2	6.44	6.54	7.00	7.14	7.87
80	6.96	6.03	6.87	5.0	5.14	4.75	5.43	5.20	5.75
85	3.06	5.02	4.95	...	3.50	3.37	4.25	4.85	....

SWEDEN.					GERMANY.		HOLLAND.	FRANCE.
	STOCKHOLM.		In the KINGDOM.		Breslaw,	Brandenburg.	Kerfsboom's Tables of Annuitants.	M. De Pardeur's Table of Annuitants.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
25	21.40	26.80	33.63	35.58	30.88	31.76	33.27	37.01
30	19.42	23.98	30.34	32.17	27.80	28.70	30.92	33.96
35	17.58	21.62	27.09	29.03	24.92	25.56	28.36	30.73
40	15.61	19.21	23.75	25.21	22.13	22.65	25.49	27.30
45	13.78	17.17	20.71	22.57	19.56	19.65	22.34	23.77
50	11.95	15.12	17.72	19.26	17.07	16.55	19.41	20.24
55	10.36	12.89	14.98	16.15	14.77	13.68	16.72	16.88
60	8.69	10.45	12.24	13.08	12.30	11.28	14.10	13.86
65	7.39	8.39	9.78	10.49	9.86	9.15	11.56	11.07
70	5.81	6.16	7.60	7.91	7.45	7.48	9.15	8.34
75	4.09	4.39	5.89	6.03	5.51	6.17	6.81	5.79
80	....	....	4.27	4.47	4.08	5.06	5.05	4.73
85	....	....	3.16	3.40	2.36	4.18	3.38	3.45

## EXPLANATION.

The first column gives the ages; the following ones give, by years and decimal parts of a year, the probabilities of life among the inhabitants of the different places mentioned. The second column regards the Graduates of Harvard College, at Cambridge, near Boston; Hingham, which forms the third, is in Massachusetts; and Dover, which forms the fourth, is in New Hampshire. The other columns are taken from the work of Dr. Price.

life among the inhabitants of the different places mentioned. You will see in this table, that the probabilities of life in this part of the United States surpass those of England and Sweden, even those of the annuitants whose lives served for the basis to the tables of Kersboom; and that they almost equal those of the annuitants which served as the basis to the calculations of M. de Parcieux, for the establishment of life annuities.\*

The second column is appropriated to the graduates of the University of Cambridge, the nursery of ministers and statesmen for that part of the country. The probabilities in this column are calculated on the whole list of graduates, received since the year 1711.

Hingham, which forms the third column, is at the southeast of Boston. The occupations and manners of life in this place, are much the same as in the rest of Massachusetts. The probabilities in this column are taken from the list of deaths, made with great care for fifty years by Doctor Gay.

The column for Dover, situated on the river Piscutauy, twelve miles from the sea, in New Hampshire, is formed from the list of deaths kept for ten years by Doctor Belknap, minister of that place.

The other columns, which regard the countries in Europe, are taken from the work of Doctor Price.

This comparative table will fix your ideas on the subject of longevity in the United States. And it is to be hoped that from the care of Doctor Wigglesworth of the academy of Boston, and that of the members of the other academies in the several States, we may soon have regular and complete tables for the thirteen States.

To satisfy your curiosity more completely, I will now give you a list of births, marriages, and deaths in a parti-

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\*We readily conceive that the probabilities of common life in France and Holland, are much inferior to these tables of annuitants.

cular town; that you may see the proportion between the births and deaths, and the ages of the deceased. I will take Salem, which is considered as a very unhealthful town. It is a sea-port, in the forty-second degree of latitude, five leagues north-east of Boston, situated between two rivers, on a flat piece of land, elevated but twenty feet above the level of the sea at high water; two little hills in the neighborhood; soil light, dry, and sandy, without marshes; the inhabitants not subject to epidemical diseases. They complain at present of some nervous and hysterical disorders, which were formerly unknown to them.

Mr. Holyoke sent to the academy of Boston the two following tables for this town of Salem:

## TABLE FOR 1781.

Deaths .....	175
Births .....	317
Baptisms .....	152
Marriages .....	70
Taxable polls, that is, males above the age of sixteen, and residing in the town.....	897
Transient persons .....	200

## AGES OF THE DECEASED.

In being born.....	6
Within the first month .....	6
Between one month and one year .....	30
Between one and two years .....	20
Between two and five .....	2
Between five and ten .....	7
Between ten and fifteen .....	3
Between fifteen and twenty .....	6
Between twenty and twenty-five .....	5
Between twenty-five and thirty .....	7
Between thirty and forty .....	24

Between forty and fifty .....	10
Between fifty and sixty .....	7
Between sixty and seventy .....	2
Between seventy and eighty .....	7
Between eighty and ninety .....	6
Ages unknown .....	27

## TABLE FOR 1782.

Deaths .....	189
Births, about .....	385
Baptisms .....	158
Marriages, about .....	84
Taxable polls .....	1,000
Number of inhabitants, about .....	9,000

## AGES OF THE DECEASED.

In being born .....	14
In the first month .....	11
Between one month and one year .....	27
Between one and two years .....	29
Between two and five .....	28
Between five and ten .....	12
Between ten and fifteen .....	5
Between fifteen and twenty .....	2
Between twenty and twenty-five .....	8
Between twenty-five and thirty .....	8
Between thirty and forty .....	9
Between forty and fifty .....	8
Between fifty and sixty .....	7
Between sixty and seventy .....	6
Between seventy and eighty .....	6
Between eighty and ninety .....	2
Ages unknown .....	*9

\*In the American journals they give the lists of deaths. The following is one that I took at hazard in the American Museum for May, 1790: Deaths, New Hampshire, one at 70 years; Massachusetts, many at 71—one at 106—one at 92—one at 87; Connecticut, one at 98—one at 91; New York, one at 104; New Jersey, one at 80; Pennsylvania, one at 84—several at 76.

You will recollect that Salem is one of the most unhealthful towns in America. You do not find in the above two lists the proportion of great ages that I have mentioned in other places.

The year 1781 gives 175 deaths. If you look for the population of Salem by the general rule of thirty living for one dead, the number of inhabitants would appear to be 5,250—whereas it was 9,000. You must then count for Salem fifty living for one deceased. In London there dies one for twenty-three; and in the country in England, one in forty; in Paris, one in thirty; in the country, one in twenty-four.

In 1781, at Salem, the births are as one to twenty-seven of the inhabitants. In common years in France it is as one to twenty-six.

As to marriages, M. Moheau reckons for the country in France one for 121, and for Paris one for 160. In Salem, you must count, for 1781, only one for 128. But this is far from being the proportion for the country in America. We have no exact table for this purpose. We must wait.

I cannot terminate this long article on longevity without giving you the table of births and deaths in the Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia for fourteen years, from 1774 to 1788. The proportion is curious.

	BIRTHS	DEATHS
From 1774 to 1775	379	156
From 1775 to 1776	338	175
From 1776 to 1777	389	124
From 1777 to 1778	298	169
From 1778 to 1779	303	178
From 1779 to 1780	348	186
From 1780 to 1781	320	158
From 1781 to 1782	323	162
From 1782 to 1783	398	219

From 1783 to 1784	389	215
From 1784 to 1785	426	153
From 1785 to 1786	420	157
From 1786 to 1787	419	150
From 1787 to 1788	425	178
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5,175	2,369

You will observe, that in years of the war the births were less numerous. This is a natural reflexion, which ought always to be made by any one who makes calculations on the population of America.

Finally, my friend, to give you a further idea of the rapidity of population in America, take the tables of Rhode Island and New Jersey, and compare them with the one I gave you on Pennsylvania.

## POPULATION OF RHODE ISLAND.

Years	Whites	Blacks
1730	15,312	2,603
1742	29,755	4,375
1761	35,939	4,697
1774	54,435	5,243
1783	48,538	3,361

## NEW JERSEY.

1738	43,388	3,981
1745	56,797	4,606
1784	139,934	10,501

You observe by these tables, that the population of Rhode Island, which had almost doubled in twelve years, from thirty to forty-two, has diminished during the war. But with what pleasure do you see the population in New Jersey more than tripled in forty years, notwithstanding the obstructions occasioned by the same bloody war! And with what pleasure do you, who are the defender of the

blacks, observe that their number has more than doubled in the same space of time in New Jersey: though the importation of them was prohibited in 1775, though the war cost the life of a great number of negroes, and though many of them were stolen by the English and sold in their islands!

From all the facts and all the tables which I have given you, it must be concluded that the life of man is much longer in the United States of America, than in the most salubrious countries of Europe.

### LETTER XXX.

#### THE PRISON OF PHILADELPHIA, AND PRISONS IN GENERAL.

And Philadelphia, likewise has its prison! I love to believe, that for the first thirty or forty years, when the Quakers were the magistrates, or rather, when there was no need of magistrates, I love to indulge the belief that there was no prison. But since the English, to deliver themselves from the banditti that infested their island, have practised letting them loose upon the colonies—since great numbers of foreign adventurers have overspread the country, especially since the last war, which has augmented their number, reduced many to misery and habituated others to crimes—it has been necessary to restrain them by prisons. One fact does honour to this State; which is, that among the prisoners of Philadelphia, not one in ten is a native of the country. During my stay in this town, one robbery only has been committed; and this was by a French sailor.

Almost all the other prisoners are either Irishmen or Frenchmen.

This prison is a kind of house of correction. The prisoners are obliged to work; and each enjoys the profit of



his own labour. This is the best method of ameliorating men; and it is a method used by the Quakers.

Those who govern the house of correction in New York, on consenting to take charge of criminals condemned by the law, have obtained leave to substitute to whips and mutilation their humane method of correction; and they daily succeed in leading back to industry and reason these deluded men.

One of these Quakers was asked, by what means it was possible to correct men who dishonour human nature, and who will not work. "We have two powerful instruments," replied the Quaker, "hunger and hope."

By the small number of Pennsylvanians contained in the prison of Philadelphia, we may conclude, that, were it not for the strangers, the government of this town, like that of Nantucket, might have a prison with open doors, of which honor and repentance are the only keepers.

But, after all, what is the use of prisons? why those tombs for living men? the Indians have them not; and they are not the worse for it. If there exists a country where it is possible, and where it is a duty to change this system, it is America; it is therefore to the Americans that I address the following reflexions.

Prisons are fatal to the health, liberty, and morals of men. To preserve health, a man has need of a pure air, frequent exercise, and wholesome food. In a prison, the air is infected, there is no space for exercise, and the food is often detestable.

A man is not in health, but when he is with beings who love him, and by whom he is beloved. In prison, he is with strangers and with criminals. There can exist no society between them; or, if there does, he must either be obliged to struggle without ceasing against the horrid principles of these wicked men, which is a torment to him; or he

adopts their principles and becomes like them—a man by living constantly with fools, becomes a fool himself, every thing in life is contagion and correspondence.

By imprisonment, you snatch a man from his wife, his children, his friends; you deprive him of their succour and consolation; you plunge him into grief and mortification; you cut him off from all those connections which render his existence of any importance. He is like a plant torn up by the roots and severed from its nourishing soil; and how will you expect it to exist?

The man who has for a long time vegetated in a prison, who has experienced frequent convulsions of rage and despair, is no longer the same being, on quitting this abode, that he was when he entered it. He returns to his family, from whom he has been long sequestered; he no more meets from them, or experiences in himself, the same attachment and the same tenderness.

In putting a man in prison, you subject him to the power of the gaoler, of the turnkey, and of the commissary of the prison. Before these men he is obliged to abase himself, to disguise his sensations, to constrain his passions, in order that his misery may not be increased. This state of humiliation and constraint is horrible to him; and besides, it renders his masters imperious, unjust, vexations, and wicked.

To oblige a freeman to use supplication to obtain justice, is to do him a lasting injury. The tree that is once bent from its natural form never acquires it again.

The laws which ordain the habeas corpus are wise and natural. But they do not ordain it in all cases. A prisoner for debt, who cannot obtain surety, must remain a prisoner. A man accused of a capital offence, who will be probably acquitted on trial, cannot enjoy the benefit of this law. These are abuses.

Is it not much more simple to imitate the Indians, to grant every man the privilege of his own house for a prison, though you are obliged to put a sentinel at his door? and for those that have no house of their own, establish a public house, where they can pursue their occupations.

If such regulations are necessary for any society, it is surely for the one which has good morals, and wishes to preserve them: if they are any where practicable, it is among a people where great crimes are rare. Recollect, my friend, that but within a few years before the last war, no capital punishment had ever been inflicted in Connecticut.

I am surprised then that the penalty of death is not totally abolished in this country. Manners here are so pure, the means of living so abundant, and misery so rare, that there can be no need of such horrid pains to prevent the commission of crimes.

Doctor Rush has just given force to all these arguments in favour of the abolition of the punishment of death. He has not yet succeeded; but it is to be hoped that the State of Pennsylvania, and even all the States, disengaging themselves from their ancient superstition for the English laws, will soon dare to give to Europe a great example of justice, humanity, and policy. Any objections that may be made against this reform in Europe will not apply in this country.

### LETTER XXXI.

THE QUAKERS, THEIR PRIVATE MORALS, THEIR MANNERS, ETC.

I have promised you, my friend, a particular article on this respectable society. I this day perform my promise.

You remember with what insulting levity M. de Chastellux has treated them in the very superficial journal

which he has published. You recollect the energetic censure\* which I passed on his errors, his falsehoods, and his calumnies. You have not forgot the stupid persecution that this censure brought on me, and the *monoeuvres* employed to stifle my work by that same witty Marquis, and by other academicians, who wished to tyrannize public opinion, and monopolize reputation.

And now, my friend, I have been able to compare the portrait which I had made of them with the original; and I am convinced that it is very nearly just. At least the portrait does not flatter them. I endeavoured to guard myself from the prejudices which their flattering reception of me might have occasioned. The way was prepared for this reception by the apology which I had published in their favour; it was translated into English even here, by some respectable members of the society, and distributed every where with profusion; and I find to my satisfaction, that it has contributed to dissipate the unhappy prejudices which the indiscretions, boasts and sarcasms of our frivolous academician had excited against the whole French nation.

Simplicity, candour, and good faith, characterize the actions as well as the discourses of the Quakers. They are not affected, but they are sincere; they are not polished, but they are humane; they have not that wit, that sparkling wit—without which a man is nothing in France, and with which he is every thing; but they have good sense, a sound judgment, an upright heart, and an obliging temper of mind. If I wished to live in society, it would be with the Quakers. If I wished to amuse myself, it would be with my countrymen. And their women—you ask, what are they? They are what they should be, faithful to their husbands, tender to their children, vigilant and econom-

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\*See *Examen critique des Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de M. le Marquis de Chastellux*.

ical in their household, and simple in their ornaments. Their principal characteristic is, that they are not eager to please all the world: neglectful of the exterior, they reserve all their accomplishments for the mind. Let us say it, let us not cease to repeat it, it is among manners like these that we are to look for good households, happy families, and public virtues. But we, miserable wretches! gangrened with our own civilization and politeness, we have abjured these manners. And who among us is happy? unless you can find a man who has the courage to content himself with a life of nature, and to live like people of former ages. If you conform to nature, says Seneca, you will never be poor; if to opinion, you will never be rich.

I will not recall to your mind all that M. Crèvecoeur has said of the Quakers. I only wish to say to you what he has not said.

Simplicity is a favorite virtue with the Quakers; and the men still follow, with some exactness, the counsel of Penn: "Let thy garments be plain and simple; attend to convenience and decency, but not to vanity. If thou art clean and warm, thy end is accomplished; to do more, is to rob the poor."\*

I have seen James Pemberton, one of the most wealthy Quakers, and one whose virtues have placed him among the most respectable of their chiefs; I have seen him wear a thread-bare coat, but it was neat. He likes better to clothe the poor, and to expend money in the cause of the blacks, than to change often his coats.

You know the dress of the Quakers—a round hat, generally white; cloth coat; cotton or woollen stockings; no powder on their hair, which is cut short and hangs round. They commonly carry in the pocket a little comb in a case;

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\*See *Fruits of Solitude*, etc., by William Penn. In these instances of re-translation, it is scarcely possible to preserve exactly the expressions of the original author. Any deviations of this sort are therefore to be imputed not to a desire of changing his phraseology, but to the misfortune of not having at hand the original works.

and on entering a house, if the hair is disordered, they comb it without ceremony before the first mirror that they meet.

The white hat which they prefer, has become more common here since Franklin has proved the advantages which it possesses, and the inconvenience of the black.

The Quakers in the country generally wear cloth made in their own houses. And at their general meeting here, in September this year, which consisted of more than fifteen hundred, nine-tenths of the number were clothed in American cloth. This is an example to the other sects.

There are some Quakers who dress more like other sects; who wear powder, silver buckles, and ruffles. They are called wet Quakers. The others regard them as a kind of schismatics, or feeble men. They are admitted, indeed, into their churches on Sunday, but never to their monthly or quarterly meetings.

It is not more than fifteen years since it was a kind of crime in all sects in America to wear powder. In general, manners have changed since the war, by the intercourse of European armies. But to the honour of the Quakers, theirs have not changed. This is to be attributed to the rigor of their discipline, and to their discarding those who violate it.

They put on woollen stockings the 15th of September; it is an article of their discipline, which extends to their clothing; and to this is to be attributed their remarkable longevity. Among the few companions of William Penn in 1693, six are now alive—Edward Drinker, born in 1680, has been dead but two years. It is from the intimate conviction of the advantages of their maxims, that they preserve in them with singular constancy. Their singularities are the effect of reason and long experience.

The Quaker women dress more comfortably than those of the other sects; and this renders them less subject to sickness. Age and fortune, however, cause much greater distinctions in their dress than in that of the men. The matrons wear the gravest colours, little black bonnets, and the hair simply turned back. The young women curl their hair with great care and anxiety; which costs them as much time as the most exquisite toilette. They wear little hats covered with silk or sattin. These observations gave me pain. These young Quakeresses, whom nature has so well endowed, whose charms have so little need of the borrowed hand of art, are remarkable for their choice of the finest linens, muslins, and silks. Elegant fans play between their fingers. Oriental luxury itself, would not disdain the linen they wear. Is this agreeable to the doctrine of Penn? "Modesty and mildness," says he, "are the richest and finest ornaments of the soul. The more simple the dress, the more will beauty and these qualities appear."

I say it with freedom, and I ought to say it to my friends the Quakers, (for I am sure they will read me; and I would not flatter my friends; a hint of good advice is always well received by them), that if any thing can discredit their principles abroad, it is the relaxation insensibly introduced into their manners and customs. Their taste in linens and silks is regarded by others as a hypocritical luxury, ill-disguised; which is absurd, at least among men so apparently devoted to simplicity and austerity.

Luxury begins where utility ends. Now, where is the utility to the body in the use of the finest of linen? And how usefully might the money be employed, which is now applied to this luxury! There are so many good actions to be done! So many persons in want!

Luxury displayed in simple things announces more vanity than when displayed in an ordinary manner; for it seems to be considered as the measure of wealth, of which they affect to despise the ostentation. Indeed, it announces a mind not truly penetrated with the great principles of morality—a mind that places its happiness, not in virtue, but in appearance.

And what an ill example is thus given to the other Americans by the Quakers, who have been to them the models of simplicity? Their country does not, and will not for a long time, manufacture these fine linens, these delicate muslins, of which the texture is scarcely perceptible. They must be purchased in foreign countries, to which they have recourse for so many articles of necessity. Thus, this luxury drains from their country the money so much wanted for the extension of agriculture and other useful enterprises. Let the Quakers who read this article, meditate upon it; let them reflect, that the use of rum, against which they raise their voice with great energy and justice, cannot make more ravages in America than the introduction of luxury in their society. I made the same remark on the household furniture of those who are rich among them. It has the appearance of simplicity; but in many instances it is certainly expensive.

Happily, this luxury has not yet found its way to the tables of the Quakers. Their dinners are solid, simple, and elegant, enlivened by serene and sensible conversation, and endeared by hospitality. They drink beer, Philadelphia porter, cider, and finish with a glass of wine. None of those fatiguing toasts, which are rather provocatives to intoxication than accents of patriotism.

Those who reproach the Quakers with sadness and moroseness, are unacquainted with their true character, and have never lived with them. I, who have been received by



them as a child, and domesticated as a friend, judge them very differently. I have found among them moments of gaiety, of effusions of the heart, of sprightly and agreeable conversation. They are not buffoons, but they are serene; they are happy, and, if gaiety consists in the expression of heart-felt happiness, they are gay.

We Frenchmen have the reputation of being gay, of laughing at every thing, of balancing a misfortune by a pun. This is a folly. To laugh is the sign of gaiety, and gaiety is the sign of agreeable sensations. To be gay, therefore, in the depth of misery is a falsehood or a folly; to be serene and unmoved, is wisdom. We ought not to be depressed by misfortunes; neither ought we to laugh at them; the one is a weakness of mind, the other is madness or stupidity.

The calmness which characterizes the Quakers in their joy, accompanies them likewise in their grief, in their discussions, and in all their affairs. They owe it to their education; they are early taught to curb their passions, especially that of anger; to render themselves, as they call it, immovable; that is, inaccessible to sudden emotions; it results from this, that on all occasions, they preserve an empire over themselves; and this gives them a great advantage in discussion over those who do not preserve the same temper. "The greatest service," says Penn, "that thou canst render to reason, is to clothe her in calmness; and he that defends truth with too much heat, does her more injury than her adversaries themselves." I saw an example of the effects of this coolness in debate, in my friend Myers Fisher, who is a learned and virtuous practitioner of the law. I heard him before the legislature defend the cause of the Pitots, against a bill, the object of which was, to reduce their pay. Clearness, close reasoning, and deep erudition, distinguished his discourse;

which was followed by success. He preserved constantly his calmness of temper, amidst the frequent attacks and sudden interruptions on the part of the members of the Assembly.

The Quakers carry to the borders of the tomb this same tranquility of mind; and it even forsakes not the women at this distressing moment. This is the fruit of their religious principles, and of a regular virtuous life. They consider Heaven as their country; and they cannot conceive why death, which conducts to it, should be a misfortune.

This habitual serenity does not diminish their sensibility. The respectable Pemberton recounted to me the death of a beloved daughter, which happened the day before. I could see the tear steal down his cheek, which a moment's reflection caused to disappear. He loved to speak to me of her virtues and her resignation during her long agony. "She was an angel," says he, "and she is now in her place."

This good father did not exaggerate. You will find in this Society, many of the celestial images, clothed in serenity, the symbol of internal peace and conscious virtue.

I cannot explain to you the fact; but it is true, that I feel an expansion of soul in their society. I meet a man of a pure mind, I am at once at my ease, we are like intimate and old acquaintance, we understand each other without speaking. A corrupted man, a sharper, a man of the world, produces on me a contrary impression. My soul contracts and recoils upon itself, like the sensitive plant.

The portrait which I have given you of the Quakers, is not only the result of my own observations, but what has been told me by enlightened men of the other sects.

I asked one day, in company, the following question: "Is there a greater purity of morals, more simplicity, more integrity, more honesty among the Quakers, than any other sects?" A man distinguished for his information and his attachment to the new constitution, answered me: "I am a Presbyterian; but I must declare, that the Quakers excel all sects in the qualities you mention." It is not that they are all pure and irreproachable; it is not, that there are not some sharpers among them. The reputation of the sect, and the advantage that may be made of it, have naturally brought into it some hypocritical proselytes and rascals. A man would counterfeit a guinea rather than a halfpenny; but the Quakers are very strict in expelling from their society those who are found guilty, I do not say of crimes, but of those breaches of delicacy and probity, which the laws do not punish. The public is often ignorant of these excommunications; because the excommunicated member continues to go to their public meetings on Sunday. He cannot be hindered from this; but he is never admitted to their monthly or quarterly meetings.

## LETTER XXXII

ON THE APPROACHES MADE AGAINST THE QUAKERS  
BY DIFFERENT WRITERS

The spectacle of virtue gives pain to the wicked; and they avenge themselves by decrying it. You must not then be surprised that writers have endeavoured to injure this sanctified body. One of those who attempted it with the most bitterness, is the author of *Recherches sur les Etats Unis*, published the beginning of this year. He has dilated, in a long chapter, all the calumnies which he had before uttered in a letter under the name of one of his countrymen, printed in the *Paris Journal* of the sixteenth of November, 1786.

This author is Mr. Mazzei, an Italian, who resided some years in Virginia, and has since settled in France. He might naturally, among the planters in Virginia contract prejudices against the Quakers; friends of dissipation, of luxury, of slavery, of pleasure, and of ostentation, regard with an evil eye, a society who preach and practice economy and simplicity. Mr. Mazzei is, besides, unacquainted with the Quakers, having never lived in their intimacy; his testimony then ought to have little weight. He cites as his authority, the Virginians and the French military officers.

The French, and especially the French officers, cannot in general be good judges in this matter; some of them sacrifice too much to the rage of ridicule; others have principles too different from the Quakers; and almost all of them are superficial observers.

Yet I must say, in praise of the French army, that they always respected the Quakers. The commander in chief had made of their meeting-house at Newport, a magazine of arms. He gave it up to them on their request. An English general would have conducted very differently.

In another instance, a French officer had quartered some soldiers at the house of a Quaker; out of respect to their principles, he did not suffer them to deposite their arms in the house.

Among the writers in their favour, are Voltaire, Raynal, M'Auley, Crevecoeur. What names on this subject can be placed in opposition to them?

In abusing the Quakers, he is obliged to confess that their singular ideas have raised them in certain points much above other men.

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NOTE—M. de Chastellux was far from these principles. The cause of his prejudice was, that at the time when he travelled in America, the Quakers were not treated with respect, because they refused to take part in the war. He caught the general contagion of dislike, without ever hearing or seeing any of them; and it was to please the pretty, graceful women of Paris, that he ridiculed the interior grace of the Quakers.

He pretends, likewise, that they have defects; and where have I denied it? *Ubi homines, ibi erunt, vitia*, says Tacitus. And the Quakers are men. But I say that their principles guard them more from vice than those of other men.

Mr. Mazzei confesses, that for economy and application to business, their conduct is truly exemplary and worthy of praise. It is from these two sources that flow all the private and civil virtues; for a man, who by principle is economical and attentive to his business, has nothing to fear from a numerous family. If he has many children, he loves them; for he sees the means of providing for them with ease. Such a man is neither a gambler nor a debauchee. Such a man is a good husband; for, placing all his happiness in domestic life, he is forced to be good, in order to be beloved; and he cannot be happy, but by rendering those happy who are round him. Why did not this critic see the consequences that must follow from the truth which he admits? Why did he not see that it raised them above every other sect? For, with others, example, habit, or other variable circumstances, may render men economical and vigilant in business; while every Quaker is so, from a principle in his religion; a principle from which he cannot deviate, without ceasing to be a Quaker. Economy and industry are with them an essential part of their religion; how much stronger is such a motive than all those which produce these in other men!

Mr. Mazzei acknowledges, that in hospitality and beneficence they are not inferior to other men. He ought to have said they were superior; for charity and hospitality flow from economy and easy circumstances. The man who has more means, less real wants, and no fantastical ones, and who really loves his fellow creatures, is necessarily

beneficent and hospitable; and such is the situation and such the character of the Quakers.

But the great reproach that Mr. Mazzei brings upon them is, that they are superior in hypocrisy. To judge of this accusation, let us see in what hypocrisy consists.

For a man to pretend to sentiments which he does not possess, to virtues which he does not practice—or, in a word, to appear what he is not, is what is meant by hypocrisy.

Now are not the Quakers what they appear to be? This is the point to be proved. To convict them of religious hypocrisy, you must prove that they do not believe in the Holy Spirit, and in the Gospel; you must prove them to be Infidels or Athiests under the mask of Christianity.

If moral hypocrisy is intended, you must prove that they conceal libertinism, dissipation, and cruelty to their families, under the veil of austerity, economy, and apparent tenderness. Is it political hypocrisy? You must then prove that they wish secretly for places and dignities, which they have renounced; that they long to massacre their fellow creatures, while they profess a horror for the effusion of human blood; that they are really selfish, under the mask of friends and benefactors to the human race; that they are proud and haughty, under the appearance of simplicity.

In a word, hypocrisy is a vague term; and as long as it is not applied to facts, it signifies nothing. It does not suffice for its justification, to say, that the Quakers are Protestant Jesuits.

This is but a new calumny, as vague as the other. I ask for facts. If the Quakers resemble the Jesuits in mildness, indulgence, tolerance, and the art of persuasion, it is to resemble them on the virtuous side. Mr. Mazzei says, they do not resemble them in every thing, and he thus

effaces what M. de Chastellux had wantonly advanced on this charge.

I am not astonished that the Quakers have the art of persuasion. They have possessed it for a hundred and fifty years; which is a proof, that they merit the public confidence; they must have lost it had they been charlatans or hypocrites.

The cry of hypocrisy is generally set up against the most grave and religious sects, and by those men who are seeking to justify their own corruption. It seems, that having renounced all virtues, they like not to take the trouble to feign them; or perhaps to get rid of the weight of esteem which is due to virtue, they calculate, that it is easier to deny its existence.

M. Mazzei accuses the Quakers of want of punctuality and equity in their commerce; he adds, that it is their national character. Observe, my friend, that neither Mazzei nor Chastellux adduces a single fact, nor a single authority for this assertion. It must then be a pure calumny. If this was the character of the Quakers, would facts be wanting to prove it?

I have too often heard repeated this accusation of knavery against them; I have, with the greatest care, consulted English and Americans of all sects, and French merchants who have dealings with them; and I have not been able to hear of a single fact as an instance of dishonesty. The worst that has been told me, is, that they are cunning, strict, and inflexible; that they have no respect for persons or sects. I was told too, as M. Mazzei has printed, that they understand very well how to sell, that they sell dear. I have showed in my answer to Chastellux, the absurdity of any reproach like this. To understand the art of selling does not suppose a want of probity; it is the spirit of commerce; I will say more, it is the general character

of the Americans; they are artful; I will explain the cause of it hereafter.

Mr. Bingham, one of the most opulent citizens of Philadelphia, and one who, from his ostentation and luxury, cannot be very favourable to the Quakers, spoke of them to me in the highest praise. He said, that they were extremely punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and that they never live beyond their income.

And this will explain the common saying that you so often hear repeated at Philadelphia, that the Quakers are so cunning that the Jews themselves cannot live among them. Usurious Jews can never live among economical men, who have no need of borrowing money at enormous interest; for a similar reason, a seller of pork cannot live among Jews.

M. Mazzei accuses the Quakers of a desire of gain; though he is not so formal in this accusation as M. de Chastellux. I will take this opportunity to make a remark on this common reproach, with which it is so fashionable to revile, not only the Quakers, but commercial people in general.

The author of *Philosophical Travels in England* says, "We are luckily exempted in France from that spirit of avarice, that desire of gain; and we owe this exemption to the pride of a numerous body of nobles."—More luckily, however, we are at present exempted from this very useful body. But I would ask this noble traveller, with what spirit these honourable nobles beg and fawn for lucrative places and pensions? With what spirit do they engage, under borrowed names, in all speculations and stock-jobbing? With what spirit do they require large gratifications for their patronage, secret bribes from the Farmers-General, and a covered interest in every enterprise that is carried on in the kingdom? Is this the same spirit;



or is it better or worse than the desire of gain which appears to them so vile in a merchant? In two respects these men are infinitely below the merchant; in the hypocrisy of pretending to despise a metal which they burn to possess, and in the use which they make of it. Money gained in commerce, is generally employed in extending commerce and useful speculations; money gained by a noble, is spent in luxury, vanity, debauchery, and creating new poisons in society.

The desire of gain in a merchant, consists in amassing wealth, in preserving it, and in watching over his affairs with a constant attention. Such then is the crime of the Quakers. But in reproaching them with it, we ought to consider attentively the circumstances of that society; their religious principles exclude them from all ambitious views, from all places and employments; they must then attend wholly to their industry, to the support and establishment of their children. They have, therefore, more need of amassing property than other citizens, who may find the means of placing their children in public offices, in the army, the navy, or the church.

Finally, the Quakers, having renounced the occupations or intrigue, of amusements, and even of literature and the sciences, must be occupied wholly in business; and consequently appear more vigilant, that is, in the language of lazy nobility, more avaricious.

M. Mazzei agrees, that the Quakers are virtuous; but does not allow them to rank in this respect above other sects. He believes, that other sects have produced men as perfect as this. I believe it as well as he; the image of Fenelon gives me as agreeable an impression as that of Fothergill or Benezet. But I maintain—1st, that the sect of the Quakers, in proportion to their number, has produced more of these prodigies. 2d, that no sect presents

to us a totality so perfect and harmonious, and an assemblage of men so pure and virtuous, or so constant a series of great and good actions. To prove this last assertion, I will only call to your mind the emancipation of slaves, executed by them with unanimity, with the same spirit, and followed by numerous efforts to abolish slavery, and to meliorate and educate the blacks. Let any one cite to me in all other sects a similar instance of disinterestedness and humanity. Let a sect be mentioned, which, like this, has made it a law never to take any part either in privateering,\* or in contraband trade, even in a foreign country; for they will not tempt a foreigner to violate the laws of his own country.

During the last war, the Quakers passed a resolution, that whoever of their society should pay a debt in paper money (then depreciated) should be excommunicated; while, at that time, it was a crime to doubt of the goodness of this paper; and the Quakers, like all other citizens, were obliged to receive it from their debtors at the nominal value.

### LETTER XXXIII

THE EXTENT OF THE SOCIETY OF QUAKERS, THEIR RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES, ETC.

A Society, simple in its manners, economical, and devoted principally to agriculture and commerce, must necessarily increase with great rapidity. Pennsylvania may be considered as the mother country of the Quakers, who form a majority of its population. They are numerous in the States of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Rhode Island; some in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Many of the Quakers have planted their tabernacles in that de-

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\*I ought to mention the conduct of a Quaker, who, in the last war restored to the original owner, his part of a prize accidentally taken by a merchant's ship, in which he was interested.

lightful valley which is washed by the Shenadore, beyond the first chain of mountains. They have no slaves; they employ negroes as hired servants, and have renounced the culture of tobacco; and this valley is observed as the best cultivated part of Virginia.

They have pushed their settlements likewise into the two Carolinas and Georgia. They are beginning establishments near the Ohio, and have a considerable one already at Redstone, on the Monongahela.

It is to be wished, for the happiness of the Indians, and the peace of America, that all the planters of the frontiers possessed the pacific principles of the Quakers; a lasting union would soon be formed between them; and blood would no longer stain the furrows which American industry traces in the forests.

The religion of the Quakers is the simplest imaginable. It consist in the voice of conscience, the internal sentiment, the divine instinct, which, in their opinion, God has imparted to every one. This instinct, this light, this grace, which every person brings into the world with him, appears to them the only guide necessary for the conduct of life. But to understand the guide, it is necessary to know it; to be known, it should often be interrogated. Hence the necessity of frequent meditations; hence the nullity of all formal worship, and the ministration of priests; for they consider forms as so many obstacles, which turn the attention from the voice within; and priests possessing no more of the Divine Spirit than other men, cannot supply the want of meditation.

I have shown in my Critique on the Travels of Chastelux, how much this meditative worship of the Deity is superior to the mechanical worship of other sects. I have proved that the man who adores his Creator by meditating on his own duties, will necessarily become good, tolerant,

just and beneficent. You have here the key both of the moral character of the Quakers, and of its extraordinary duration. Their virtue is an habit, a second nature.

The Quakers have been much ridiculed for their belief in this interior principle. For their calumniators, some of whom have called themselves philosophers, are ignorant that this belief is not peculiar to the Quakers. We find it in a great number of stages, who have merited the homage of mankind. With Pythagoras, it was the Eternal Word, the Great Light—with Anaxagoras, the Divine Soul—with Socrates, the Good Spirit, or Demon—with Timeus, the Uncreated Principle—with Hieron, the Author of Delight, the God within the Man—with Plato, the eternal ineffable and perfect Principle of Truth—with Zeno, the Creator and Father of all—and with Plotinus, the Root of the Soul. When these philosophers endeavoured to characterize the influence of this principle within us, they used correspondent expressions. Hieron called it a domestic God, an internal God—Socrates and Timeus, the Genius or Angel—Plotinus, the Divine Principle of Man—and Plato, the Rule of the Soul, the Internal Guide, the Foundation of Virtue.

I do not pretend to explain to you all the religious principles of the Quakers; this would lead me too far; not that their dogmas are very numerous, for their doctrine is more simple and more concise than their morals. But this article, as well their history, ought to be treated at large. I can assure you, that all the French authors who have written on them, without excepting Voltaire, have been ignorant of the true sources of information. They have contented themselves with seizing the objects to which they could give a cast of ridicule, and have thrown aside every thing that could render that society respectable.

One inviolable practice of theirs, for instance, is, never to dispute about dogmas. They have cut off an endless chain of disputations, by not admitting the authority either of the Old or New Testament to be superior to that of the internal principle, and by not hiring a class of men for the sole purpose of disputing and tyrannizing, under the pretext of instructing. What torrents of blood would have been spared, if the Catholics and Protestants had adopted a rule of conduct so wise; if instead of quarrelling about unintelligible words, about writings that may be changed, about the authority of the Church and the Pope, they had believed in the internal Spirit, which for each individual may be the secret guide! This guide has little concern with dogmas, and much with morals.

Among the political principles of the Quakers, the most remarkable are, never to take an oath, and never to take arms. I shall speak of the latter in an article by itself; as to their refusing to take an oath, it may be said, that an oath adds no weight to the declarations of an honest man; and perjury has no terrors for a knave.

Their discipline is as simple as their doctrine. In their marriages, their births, and interments, they use only the forms necessary to verify the existence of the fact.

A Quaker cannot marry a person of another sect; I asked the reason of this; as it appeared to me a sign of intolerance. "The preservation of our society," replied a Quaker, "depends on the preservation of the customs which distinguish us from other men. This singularity forces us to be more honest; and if we should unite our families with strangers, who are not of our society, individuals would swerve from our usages, and confound them with others. A Quaker woman who should marry a Presbyterian, submits herself to the authority of a man over

whom we have no influence; and the society subsists only by this domestic, voluntary, and reciprocal influence."

This influence is directed by their different assemblies. The monthly assemblies are in general composed of several neighbouring congregations. Their functions are to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and the education of their children; to examine the new converts, and prove their morals; to sustain the zeal and the religion of others; to hear and judge their faults by means of superintendents appointed for this purpose; to decide and settle any dispute that may arise either between Quakers, or between a Quaker and a stranger, provided the latter will submit to their arbitrament. This last object is one of the most important; it prevents that cruel scourge so ravaging in other countries, the scourge of lawyers, the source of so much corruption, and the cause of such scandalous divisions. This custom must be of great advantage to strangers who live in the neighbourhood of Quakers. The society excommunicates a member who will not submit to this arbitration.

Appeals are sometimes carried from the monthly to the quarterly assemblies; the principal business of the latter, is to superintend the operations of the former.

But the superintendence of the whole society belongs to the annual assemblies. These receive reports from the inferior bodies respecting the state of all parts of the society, give their advice, make regulations, judge definitively on the appeals from the lower assemblies, and write letters to each other, in order to maintain a fraternal correspondence.

There are seven annual assemblies. One at London, to which the Quakers in Ireland send deputies; one in New England, one at New York, one for Pennsylvania and New

Jersey, one in Maryland, one in Virginia, one for the two Carolinas and Georgia.

As the Quakers believe that women may be called to the ministry as well as men, and as there are certain articles of discipline which only concern the women, and the observance of which can be superintended only by them, they have likewise their monthly, quarterly, and annual meetings. But they have not the right to make regulations. This method is much more proper to maintain morals among women, than that of our Catholic Confessors; which subjects the feeble sex to the artifice, the fancies, and the empire of particular men; which opens the door to the most scandalous scenes, and often carries inquisition and dissension into the bosom of families.

The Quakers have no salaried priests; their ministers are such men as are the most remarkable for their zeal; they speak the most frequently in their meetings; but all persons, male and female, have an equal right to speak whenever they feel an inclination.

These ministers, with some approved elders, hold monthly meetings, by themselves, for their own instruction. In these meetings they revise and order to be printed, such works as they choose to have distributed; and they never fail to take such measures, as that useful works should be sold at a low price.

In all these assemblies, some of which are very numerous, they have no president, and no person who has the least authority. Yet the greatest order and harmony are always observed. You never hear two persons speak at once in any of their most interesting deliberations.

But what will surprise you more is, that in their numerous assemblies, nothing is decided but by unanimity. Each member has a kind of suspensive negative. He has only to

say, I have not clearness; the question is then adjourned, and not decided till every member is agreed.

This usage appears to me highly honorable to the society; it proves a wonderful union among this band of brothers; it proves that the same spirit animates them, the spirit of reason, of truth, and of the public good. Deliberative assemblies in general, would not be subject to such long and violent discussions, if, like the Quakers, they were disengaged from all personal ambition, and if, to resolve doubts, the members addressed themselves only to the consciences of men.

You will, perhaps, conclude from this, that this society can do but little business. This will be a mistake; no society does more for the public good. It is owing to them, that Philadelphia has hitherto been preserved from the danger of theatres. Their petition this year, to prevent permission being obtained to erect one, has been successful.

A thorough knowledge of the Quakers, my friend, is not to be obtained by going, like Chastellux, for an hour into one of their churches. Enter into their houses; you will find them the abodes of peace, harmony, gentleness, and frugality; tenderness to children, humanity to servants. Go into their hospitals; you will there see the more touching effects of charity, in their unexampled cleanliness, in their aliments, in their beds, and in their scrupulous attentions. Visit the asylums of old age and decrepitude; you will find the cloth and linen of the poor, as decent as that of their benefactors. Each one has his chamber, and enjoys not only the necessaries, but many of the agreeables of life.

If you would quit the town, and run over the farms of the Quakers, you will discover a greater degree of neatness, order, and care, among these cultivators, than among any



other. If you examine the interior organization of the society, you will find, in every church, a treasury for charity, containing more or less money, according to the wealth of the congregation. This is employed in assisting young tradesmen, in succouring those who have failed in business through misfortune, those who have suffered by fire and other accidents. You will find many rich persons among them, who make it a constant rule to give to this treasury one-tenth of their revenue.

I am persuaded, my friend, that, after having well examined this society under all these details, you would cry out. If tomorrow I were reduced to poverty, and to be destitute of the succour of my friends, God grant that I might finish my days in a Quaker hospital; if tomorrow I were to become a farmer, let me have members of this society for my neighbours; they would instruct me by their example and advice, and they would never vex me with law-suits.

## LETTER XXXIV

### THE REFUSAL OF QUAKERS TO TAKE ANY PART IN WAR

These wise men have seen that the great basis of universal happiness must be universal peace; and that to open the way to that peace, we must pronounce an anathema against the art of war. Sacred writings have taught us to believe, that the time will come when nation shall no more lift the sword against nation; and to lead to the accomplishment of so consoling a prophecy, this people believe that example is more powerful than words; that kings will always find the secret of perpetuating wars, as long as they can hire men to murder each other; and that it is their duty, as a society, to resolve never to take arms, or contribute to the expences of any war. They have

been tormented, robbed, imprisoned, and martyred; they have suffered every thing; till tyranny itself, wearied with their perseverance, has exempted them from military service, and has been driven to indirect measures, to force contributions from their hands.

What then would become of our heroes and our conquerors, our Fredericks and our Potemkins, if all religious sects had adopted the same pacific spirit, and no man could be found, who would consent to be trained like an automaton to the infernal art of killing his fellow creatures.

If we wish for the happiness of mankind, let us pray, that this society may cover the whole globe; or let us endeavor, at least, that their humane principles be adopted by all men. Then would be realized that universal peace, which the Quakers have already realised in countries where they have borne the sway.

In Pennsylvania, they found the secret of defending themselves from the scourge of military slaughter, till the war of 1755, between France and England. Though mingled with the Indians, never any quarrels rose among them, which led to the spilling of blood.

The government of England, with all its manoeuvres, could never engage the Quakers to give any assistance in this war. They not only refused this, but they resigned all the places which they had held in the government of the colony; for it was before almost entirely in their hands; and such was their economy, that the produce of the custom-house, and a small excise, were always sufficient to defray the public expences; so that no other tax was known in the colony.

The war of 1755 changed this order of things, and occasioned heavy expences, which the colonies were obliged to pay. The Quakers were subjected to them, as well as

others; but they not only refused, as a society, to pay taxes, of which war was the object, but they excommunicated those who paid them. They persevered in this practice in the last war.

At this time an animosity was kindled against them, which is not yet extinguished. Faithful to their principles, they declared, that they would take no part in this war, and they excommunicated all such as joined either the American or the British army.

I am well convinced of the sacred and divine principle which authorises resistance to oppression; and I am well convinced, that oppression was here manifest; I must therefore blame the neutrality of the Quakers on this occasion, when their brethren were fighting for independence. But I believe, likewise, that it was wrong to persecute them so violently for their pacific neutrality.

If this instance of refusal had been the first of the kind, or if it had been dictated by a secret attachment to the British cause, certainly they would have been guilty, and this persecution would perhaps have been legitimate. But this neutrality was commanded by their religious opinions, constantly professed, and practised by the society from its origin.

No person has spoken to me with more impartiality respecting the Quakers than General Washington, that celebrated man, whose spirit of justice is remarkable in every thing. He declared to me, that, in the course of the war, he had entertained an ill opinion of this society; he knew but little of them; as at that time there were but few of that sect in Virginia; and he had attributed to their political sentiments, the effect of their religious principles. He told me, that having since known them better, he acquired an esteem for them, and that considering the simplicity of their manners, the purity of their morals,

their exemplary economy, and their attachment to the constitution, he considered this society as one of the best supports of the new government, which requires a great moderation, and a total banishment of luxury.

It was not under this point of view that they were regarded by the Congress, which laid the foundation of American independence. This Congress joined their persecutors, and banished some of their most noted leaders to Staunton, in Virginia, two hundred miles from their families. My friend, Myers Fisher, was of the number. M. Mazzei quotes the violent Address published by Paine against them, but takes care not to quote the answer made to it by Fisher. But such is the logic of this calumniator of the Quakers. Since the peace, they have been subjected to another kind of vexation. Each citizen, from sixteen to fifty-five years of age, is obliged by law to serve in the militia, or to pay a fine. The Quakers will not serve nor pay the fine. The collector, whose duty it is to levy it, enters their houses, takes their furniture, and sells it; and the Quakers peaceably submit.

This method gives great encouragement to knavery. Collectors have been known to take goods to the amount of six times the fine, to sell for a shilling what was worth a pound, never to return the surplus, nor even to pay the state, but afterwards become bankrupts. Their successors would then come and demand the fine already paid; but the Quakers have complained of these abuses to the legislature, and an act is passed suspending these collections till September 1789..

It would be very easy to reconcile the wants of the state, and the duty of the Quakers. You might subject them only to pacific taxes, and require them to pay a larger proportion of them. This is already done in Virginia, in abolishing, with respect to them, the militia service.

With this view of their character, you will agree with me, my friend, that our government ought to hasten to naturalize this purity in France. Their example might serve to regenerate our manners; without which we cannot certainly preserve our liberty for a long time. though we should be able to acquire it. The Catholic religion, which predominates in France, can be no objection to it; for the Quakers hate no sect, but are friendly to all. They have ever lived in particular harmony with the Catholics of Pennsylvania and Maryland. James Pemberton told me, that in the war of 1740, he knew a mob of fanatical Presbyterians, with axes in their hands, going to destroy a Catholic chapel. Ten or twelve Quakers stopped them, exhorted them, and they dispersed without effecting their design.

Living in harmony with all other sects, they preserve no resentment against the apostates from their own, notwithstanding the troubles which they experienced from them. Reason is the only weapon which they use.

#### POSTSCRIPT WRITTEN IN 1790

If the old government had an interest in inviting Quakers to France, this interest is doubled since the Revolution. The spirit of that society agrees with the spirit of French liberty in the following particulars:

That Society has made great establishments without effusion of blood; the National Assembly has renounced the idea of conquest, which is almost universally the cause of war. That Society practices universal tolerance; the Assembly ordains it. The Society observes simplicity of worship; the Assembly leads to it. The Society practises good morals which are the strongest supports of a free government; the political regeneration of France, which the Assembly is about to consummate, conducts necessarily to a regeneration of morals.

If the French are armed from North to South, it is for liberty, it is for the terror of despotism, it is to obey the commands of God; for God has willed that man should be free; since he has endowed him with reason; he has willed that he should use all efforts to defend himself from that tyranny which defaces the only image of Diety in man, his virtues and his talents.

But notwithstanding this ardor in the French to arm themselves in so holy a cause; they do not less respect the religious opinions of the Quakers, which forbid them to spill the blood of their enemies. This error of their humanity is so charming, that it is almost as good as a truth. We are all striving for the same object, universal fraternity; the Quakers by gentleness, we by resistance. Their means are those of a society, ours those of a powerful nation.

## LETTER XXXV

### JOURNEY TO MOUNT VERNON IN VIRGINIA

On the 15th of November, 1788, I set out from Philadelphia for Wilmington, distance twenty-eight miles, and road tolerably good. The town of Chester, fifteen miles from Philadelphia, is a place where strangers like to rest. It stands on a creek, which falls into the Delaware. It enjoys some commerce, and the taverns here are good.

Wilmington is much more considerable; it stands likewise on a creek near the Delaware; the basis of its commerce is the exportation of flour. One mile above Wilmington, you pass the town of Brandywine; the name of which will call to your mind a famous battle gained by the English over the Americans, eight miles from this town, on a river of the same name. This town is famous for its fine mills; the most considerable of which is a paper-mill belonging to Mr. Gilpin and Myers Fisher, that

worthy orator and man of science, whom I have often mentioned. Their process in making paper, especially in grinding the rags, is much more simple than ours. I have seen specimens of their paper, both for writing and printing, equal to the finest made in France.

Wilmington is a handsome town, well-built, and principally inhabited by Quakers. I have seen many respectable persons among them, particularly Doctor Way. The celebrated Mr. Dickinson, who resides here, was, unfortunately for me, out of town.

I passed two evenings in company with Miss Vining, that amiable woman, whom the licentious pen of Chastellux has calumniated, as having too much taste for gallantry. If we believe the testimony of all her acquaintance, this trait which he has given her is an inexcusable libel. The Quakers themselves, to whom her gaiety cannot be pleasing, declare that her conduct has been uniformly irreproachable. But I believe, that this malicious and cowardly shaft, hurled in security from the other side of the Atlantic, has essentially injured her.

At nine miles from Wilmington, I past Christine Bridge, a place of some commerce. From thence to the head of Elk, you see but few plantations, you run through eight miles of woods, only meeting with a few log houses, when you arrive at Henderson's tavern, a very good inn, alone in the midst of vast forests. It is twenty-two miles from thence to the ferry of the Susquehannah. The town here is called Havre de Grace, a name given it by a Frenchman who laid the foundation of the town. It is at present an irregular mass of about 150 houses; but there is no doubt, when the entrance of the river shall be rendered navigable, but this will be an interesting situation, and a populous town. Here is a charming garden belonging to the proprietor of the ferry, from which I had a delicious

prospect of that magnificent river; which in this place is more than a mile and a half wide, interspersed with islands. From thence to Baltimore are reckoned sixty miles. The road in general is frightful, it is over a clay soil, full of deep ruts, always in the midst of forests; frequently obstructed by trees overset by the wind, which obliged us to seek a new passage among the woods. I cannot conceive why the stage does not often overset. Both the drivers and their horses discover great skill and dexterity, being accustomed to these roads.

But why are they not repaired? Overseers of the roads are indeed appointed, and fines are sometimes pronounced on delinquencies of this kind; but they are ill collected. Every thing is here degraded; it is one of the effects of slavery. The slave works as little as possible; and the master, eager of vile enjoyments, finds other occupations than sending his negroes to repair the roads.

Some vast fields of Indian corn, but bad cultivation, pale faces worn by the fever and ague, naked negroes, and miserable huts, are the most striking images offered to the eye of the traveller in Maryland.

We arrived at Baltimore in the night; but I viewed this town on my return. It contains near two thousand houses; and fourteen thousand inhabitants. It is irregularly built, and on land but little elevated above the surface of Patapsco Bay, on the North of which it forms a crescent. The bay is not sufficiently deep to receive the largest ships; they anchor near Fell's Point, two miles from the centre of the town. There are still stagnant waters in the town; few of the streets are paved; and the great quantities of mud after rain, announce that the air must be unhealthful; but ask the inhabitants, and they will tell you, no. You may say here, like the Swiss, in the heat of a battle, "If you believe these people, nobody can die here!"



Baltimore was a village before the war; but during that period, a considerable portion of the commerce of Philadelphia was removed to this place. The greatest ships come as far as here, and can go no farther; vast quantities of provisions descend the Susquehannah, and when that river shall be navigable, Baltimore must be a very considerable port.

The quarrel about federalism divided the town at the time I was in it; and the two parties almost came to blows on the election of their representatives.

We left Baltimore for Alexandria at four in the morning; distant about sixty miles, bad roads, a rude waggon, excellent horses, skillful conductors, poor cultivation, miserable huts, and miserable negroes.

They showed me a plantation belonging to a Quaker; there were no slaves upon it. I saw Brushtown, a new village that the State of Maryland has pointed out for the seat of a college. This edifice is nearly completed; it is on an eminence, and enjoys a good air. We breakfasted in this village, and dined at Bladensbury, sixteen miles from Alexandria. It is situated on a little river, which discharges into the Potowmack, and which admits Bateaus of twenty or thirty tons. We could find nothing to drink, but brandy or rum mixed with water. In countries cultivated by slaves, there is no industry and no domestic economy. The people know not the advantage of making beer or cider on their farms.

George-town terminates the State of Maryland; it overlooks the Potowmack, has an agreeable situation, and a considerable commerce. Regulations and imposts, inconsiderately laid on commerce by the State of Virginia, have banished to George-town a considerable part of the commerce of Alexandria.

This place is eight miles below George-town, on the opposite side of the Potowmack. Alexandria has grown from nothing to its present size within these forty years. It is not so considerable as Baltimore, which it ought to surpass. It is almost as irregular and as destitute of pavements. You see here a greater parade of luxury; servants with silk stockings in boots, women elegantly dressed, and their heads adorned with feathers.

The inhabitants, at the close of the war, imagined that every natural circumstance conspired to render it a great commercial town,—the salubrity of the air, the profundity of the river admitting the largest ships to anchor near the quay, an immense extent of back country, fertile and abounding in provisions. They have therefore built on every side, commodious store-houses, and elegant wharfs; but commerce still languishes on account of the restraints above mentioned.

I hastened to arrive at Mount Vernon, the seat of General Washington, ten miles below Alexandria on the same river. On this rout you traverse a considerable wood, and after having passed over two hills, you discover a country house of an elegant and majestic simplicity. It is preceded by grass plats; on one side of the avenue are the stables, on the other a green-house, and houses for a number of negroe mechanics. In a spacious back yard are turkies, geese, and other poultry. This house overlooks the Potowmack, enjoys an extensive prospect, has a vast and elevated portico on the front next the river, and a convenient distribution of the apartments within. The General came home in the evening, fatigued with having been to lay out a new road in some part of his plantations. You have often heard him compared to Cincinnatus; the comparison is doubtless just. This celebrated General is nothing more at present than a good farmer, constantly occupied in the care of his

farm and the improvement of cultivation. He has lately built a barn, one hundred feet in length and considerably more in breadth, destined to receive the productions of his farm, and to shelter his cattle, horses, asses, and mules. It is built on a plan sent him by that famous English farmer Arthur Young. But the General has much improved the plan. This building is in brick, it cost but three hundred pounds; I am sure in France it would have cost three thousand. He planted this year eleven hundred bushels of potatoes. All this is new in Virginia, where they know not the use of barns, and where they lay up no provisions for their cattle. His three hundred negroes are distributed in different log houses, in different parts of his plantation, which in this neighbourhood consists of ten thousand acres. Colonel Humphreys, that poet of whom I have spoken, assured me that the General possesses, in different parts of the country, more than two hundred thousand acres.

Every thing has an air of simplicity in his house; his table is good, but not ostentatious; and no deviation is seen from regularity and domestic economy. Mrs. Washington superintends the whole, and joins to the qualities of an excellent house-wife, that simple dignity which ought to characterize a woman, whose husband has acted the greatest part on the theatre of human affairs; while she possesses that amenity, and manifests that attention to strangers, which render hospitality so charming. The same virtues are conspicuous in her interesting niece; but unhappily she appears not to enjoy good health.

M. de Chastellux has mingled too much of the brilliant in his portrait of General Washington. His eye bespeaks great goodness of heart, manly sense marks all his answers, and he sometimes animates in conversation, but he has no characteristic features; which renders it difficult to seize

him. He announces a profound discretion, and a great diffidence in himself; but at the same time, an unshakable firmness of character, when once he has made his decision. His modesty is astonishing to a Frenchman; he speaks of the American war, and of his victories, as of things in which he had no direction.

He spoke to me of M. de la Fayette with the greatest tenderness. He regarded him as his child; and foresaw, with a joy mixed with inquietude, the part that this pupil was going to act in the approaching revolution of France. He could not predict, with clearness, the event of this revolution. If, on the one side, he acknowledges the ardor and enthusiasm of the French character, on the other, he saw an astonishing veneration for their ancient government, and for those monarchs whose inviolability appeared to him a strange idea.

After passing three days in the house of this celebrated man, who loaded me with kindness, and gave me much information relative to the late war, and the present situation of the United States, I returned to Alexandria.

## LETTER XXXVI

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA

The Bay of Chesapeak divides Maryland into two parts, nearly equal. The western division is the most peopled. Numerous bays and navigable rivers render this state singularly commodious for commerce. It would soon become extremely flourishing if slavery were banished from it, if a more advantageous culture were substituted to that of tobacco, and if the spirit of the Catholic religion had not adulterated the taste for order, regularity, and severity of manners which characterize the other sects, and which

have so great an influence in civil and political economy. The people of this sect were well attached to the late Revolution.

Cotton is cultivated in Maryland, as in Virginia; but little care is taken to perfect either its culture or its manufacture. You see excellent lands in these two states; but they have very few good meadows, though these might be made in abundance. For want of attention and labor, the inhabitants make but little hay; and what they have is not good. They likewise neglect the cultivation of potatoes, carrots, and turnips for their cattle, of which their neighbours of the north make great use. Their cattle are left without shelter in winter, and nourished with the tops of Indian corn. Of consequence many of them die with cold and hunger; and those that survive the winter, are miserably meagre.

They have much perfected in this country the English method of inoculation for the small-pox. In the manner practised here, it is very little dangerous. General Washington assured me, that he makes it a practice to have all his negroes inoculated, and that he never lost one in the operation. Whoever inoculates in Virginia, is obliged, by law, to give information to his neighbours within the space of two miles.

The population augments every where in these States, notwithstanding the great emigration to the Ohio. The horses of Virginia are, without contradiction, the finest in the country; but they bear double the price of those in the northern States. The practice of races, borrowed from the English by the Virginians, is fallen into disuse. The places renowned for this business are all abandoned; and it is not a misfortune; they are places of gambling, drunkenness, and quarrels.

The General informed me, that he could perceive a great reformation in his countrymen in this respect; that they are less given to intoxication, that it is no longer fashionable for a man to force his guests to drink, and to make it an honor to send them home drunk; that you hear no longer the taverns resounding with those noisy parties formerly so frequent; that the sessions of the courts of justice were no longer the theatres of gambling, inebriation, and blood; and that the distinction of classes begins to disappear.

The towns in Virginia are but small; this may be said even of Richmond with its capitol. This capitol turns the heads of the Virginians; they imagine, that from this, like the old Romans, they shall one day give law to the whole north.

There is a glass manufactory forty miles from Alexandria, which exported last year to the amount of ten thousand pounds of glass; and notwithstanding the general character of indolence in this State, the famous canal of the Potowmack advances with rapidity. Crimes are more frequent in Virginia than in the northern States. This results from the unequal division of property, and from slavery.

Wherever you find luxury, and especially a miserable luxury, there provisions, even of the first necessity, will be dear. I experienced this in Virginia. At a tavern there I paid a dollar for a supper, which in Pennsylvania would have cost me two shillings, in Connecticut one. Porter, wine, and every article, bear an excellent price here. Yet this dearness is owing in part to other causes hereafter to be explained.

## LETTER XXXVII

## THE TOBACCO OF VIRGINIA, AND THE TOBACCO NOTES

I have found, with pleasure, that your excellent article on the tobacco, inserted in our work *de la France et des Etats Unis*, is nearly exact in all its details. It is true that tobacco requires a strong fertile soil, and an uninterrupted care in the transplanting, weeding, defending from insects, cutting, curing, rolling, and packing.

Nothing but a great crop, and the total abnegation of every comfort, to which the negroes are condemned, can compensate the expences attending this production before it arrives at the market. Thus in proportion as the good lands are exhausted, and by the propagating of the principles of humanity, less hard labor is required of the slaves, this culture must decline. And thus you see already in Virginia fields enclosed, and meadows succeed to tobacco. Such is the system of the proprietors who best understand their interest; among whom I place General Washington, who has lately renounced the culture of this plant.

If the Virginians knew our wants, and what articles would be most profitable to them, they would pay great attention to the culture of cotton; the consumption of which augments so prodigiously in Europe. I will not enlarge here on the subject of tobacco, which many authors have explained; but I will give you some ideas on that kind of paper-currency called tobacco-money; the use of which proves, that nations need not give themselves so much inquietude as they usually do on the absence of specie. In a free and fertile country, the constant produce of the land may give a fixed value to any kind of representative of property.

This State has public magazines, where the tobacco is deposited. Inspectors are appointed to take charge of

these magazines, and inspect the quality of the tobacco; which, if merchantable, is received, and the proprietor is furnished with a note for the quantity by him deposited. This note circulates freely in the State, according to the known value of the tobacco. The price is different, according to the place where it is inspected. The following places are ranked according to the rigidity of the inspection: Hanover-Court, Pittsburg, Richmond, Cabin-Point. When the tobacco is worth sixteen shillings at Richmond, it is worth twenty-one at Hanover-Court. The tobacco travels to one place or the other, according to its quality; and if it is refused at all places, it is exported by contraband to the islands, or consumed in the country. There are two cuttings in a year of this crop; the first only is presented for inspection, the second consumed in the country or smuggled to the islands.

As Virginia produces about eighty thousand hogsheads, there circulates in the State about eight hundred thousand pounds in these notes; this is the reason why the Virginians have not need of a great quantity of circulating specie, nor of copper coin. The rapid circulation of this tobacco-money supplies their place.

This scarcity, however, of small money subjects the people to great inconveniences, and has given rise to a pernicious practice of cutting pieces of silver coin into halves and quarters; a source of many little knaveries. A person cuts a dollar into three pieces, keeps the middle piece, and passes the other two for half dollars. The person who receives these without weighing, loses the difference, and the one who takes them by weight, makes a fraudulent profit by giving them again at their pretended value; and so the cheat goes around.

But notwithstanding this pitiful resource of cutting the silver, society suffers a real injury for want of a plenti-



ful copper coin ; it is calculated, that in the towns the small expences of a family are doubled, on account of the impossibility of finding small change. It shews a striking want of order in the government, and increases the misery of the poor. Though tobacco exhausts the land to a prodigious degree, the proprietors take no pains to restore its vigor ; they take what the soil will give, and abandon it when it gives no longer. They like better to clear new lands, than to regenerate the old. Yet these abandoned lands would still be fertile, if they were properly manured and cultivated. The Virginians take no tobacco in substance, either in the nose or mouth ; some of them smoke, but this practice is not so general among them as in the Carolinas.

The Americans wish for the free commerce of tobacco with France ; and they complain much of the monopoly of the farmers-general. If this monopoly were removed, and the tobacco subjected only to a small duty on importation into France, there is no doubt but that the Americans would make our country the store-house of those immense quantities with which they inundate Europe. You know that they are now carried chiefly to England ; where about the tenth part is consumed, and the rest is exported. England pays the whole in her own merchandise. Judge then of the profit she must draw from this exchange ; then add the commission, the money expended in England by a great number of Americans whom this commerce leads thither, and the profits of other branches of business that are the consequence of this.

Such are the advantages which it is in the power of France to acquire over England ; but we must abolish the farms, and content ourselves with a small duty on the importation. The high duty paid in England on tobacco, will prevent the Americans from giving the preference to

that country. It amounts to fifteen pence sterling on the pound. Though England consumes little tobacco, she draws from it a revenue of 600,000 pounds sterling. The state of the finances of that island, will not admit of her diminishing this duty in order to rival France. Continue then, my friend, to preach your doctrine.

The great consumption of tobacco in all countries, and the prohibitive regulations of almost all governments, may engage the Americans to continue this culture; for as they can furnish it at a low price, as they navigate at small expence as no people equals them in enterprize and industry, they may undertake to furnish the whole earth.

Spain, for instance, will doubtless become a market for them. The author of the *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne* makes the revenue which the king draws from this article, amount to twenty millions of livres (L.833,333 $\frac{3}{4}$  sterling). The greater part of this tobacco is brought from Brazil by the Portuguese, sold to the king at five pence sterling the pound, and then sold by him at eight shillings and fourpence. At the expiration of the present contract, says the same author, the Americans will offer a more advantageous one, and it is said they will have the preference.

This high price encourages a considerable contraband in Spain, though interdicted by the pains of death. The law is too rigid to be executed.

The tobacco of the Mississippi and the Ohio will, doubtless, one day furnish the greater part of the consumption of Spain as well as of France; which if the system of liberty should be adopted, will become immense. For it is proved, by those who know the secrets of the farm, that the consumption of the latter amounts to more than thirty millions of pounds annually, instead of fifteen, as we have been commanded to believe.

## LETTER XXXVIII

## THE VALLEY OF SHENADORE IN VIRGINIA

I proposed, my friend, on quitting Alexandria, to visit that charming valley, washed by the Shenadore, of which Jefferson and Crevecoeur have given us so seducing a description. From thence I intended to return by the vale of Lancaster, and pay my respects to the virtuous Moravians. But the approaching Revolution in France hastening my return, I am obliged to content myself with giving you some idea of that country where we have been invited to fix our tabernacles; and to borrow the observations of different travellers, who have this year observed, with great attention, the lands situated between the different chains of mountains, which separate Virginia from the western territory.

The Valley of Shenadore, which lies between the south mountain and the north, or endless mountain, is from thirty to forty miles wide; chalky bottom, a fertile soil, and a good air. This situation offers almost all the advantages of the western country, without its inconveniences. It is almost in the center of the United States, and has nothing to fear from foreign enemies. It lies between two considerable rivers, which fall into the Chesapeak; and though the navigation of these rivers is interrupted for the present, yet there is no doubt, from the progress of the works on the Potowmack, that this inconvenience will soon be removed.

The price of lands here, as elsewhere, varies according to their quality; you may purchase at any price, from one to five guineas the acre, land of the same quality as in Pennsylvania from four to twenty guineas.

The average distance of these lands from commercial towns is as follows: Fifty miles from George-town, about fifty miles from Alexandria, eighty or an hundred

from Richmond and from Baltimore. But this part of the country is still more inviting for its future prospects. Of all the rivers that discharge into the Atlantic, the Potowmack offers the most direct communication with the rivers of the west. This circumstance will make it one day the great channel of intercourse for almost all the United States; and its situation renders it secure against being interrupted by war.

But to realize the advantages which the situation of this country seems to promise, requires a reformation of manners, and the banishment of luxury, which is more considerable here than in Philadelphia. You must banish idleness and the love of the chace, which are deeply rooted in the soul of the Virginians; and, above all things, you must banish slavery; which infallibly produces those great scourges of society, laziness and vice, in one class of men, unindustrious labour and degrading misery in another. The view of this deforming wound of humanity, will discourage foreigners of sensibility from coming to this State; while they have not to dread this disgusting spectacle in Pennsylvania.

But it is in a country life in America, that true happiness is to be found by him who is wise enough to make it consist in tranquility of soul, in the enjoyment of himself, and of nature. What is the fatiguing agitation of our great cities, compared to this delicious calmness? The trees, my friend, do not calumniate; they revile not their benefactors; men of the greatest merit cannot always say this of their fellow-creatures.

## LETTER XXXIX

## JOURNEY FROM BOSTON TO PORTSMOUTH

October, 1788.

I left Boston the 2nd of October, after dinner, with my worthy friend Mr. Barrett;\* to whom I cannot pay too sincere a tribute of praise for his amiable qualities, or of gratitude for the readiness he has manifested on all occasions in procuring me information on the objects of my research. We slept at Salem, fifteen miles from Boston; an excellent gavelly road, bordered with woods and meadows. This road passes the fine bridge of Malden, which I mentioned before, and the town of Linn, remarkable for the manufacture of women's shoes. It is calculated that more than an hundred thousand pairs are annually exported from this town. At Reading, not far from Linn, is a similar manufacture of men's shoes.

Salem, like all other towns in America, has a printing press and a gazette. I read in this gazette the discourse pronounced by M. D'Epreminil, when he was arrested in full parliament in Paris. What an admirable invention is the press! It brings all nations acquainted with each other, and electrizes all men by the recital of good actions, which thus become common to all. This discourse transported the daughters of my hostess: D'Epreminil appeared to them a Brutus.\*

It was cold, and we had a fire in a Franklin stove. These are common here, and those chimneys that have them not, are built as described by M. de Crevecoeur; they rarely smoke. The mistress of the tavern (Robinson) was taking tea with her daughters; they invited us to partake of it with them.—I repeat it, we have nothing like this in France. It is a general remark through all the United

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\*He is of a respectable family in Boston. He is lately named Consul of the United States in France.

\*Heu! quantum mutatus ab illo!

States: a tavern-keeper must be a respectable man, his daughters are well drest, and have an air of decency and civility. We had good provisions, good beds, attentive servants; neither the servants nor the coachman asked any money. It is an excellent practice; for this tax with us not only becomes insupportable on account of the persecutions which it occasions, but it gives men an air of baseness, and accustoms to the servility of avarice. Salem has a considerable commerce to the islands, and a great activity of business by the cod fishery.

In passing to Beverly, we crossed another excellent wooden bridge. It is over a creek near a mile wide. The construction of this bridge, and the celerity with which it was built, gives a lively idea of the activity and industry of the inhabitants of Massachusetts. It cost but three thousand pounds; the toll for a horse and carriage is eightpence; the opening in the middle for the passage of vessels, is of a simpler mechanism than that of Charles-town. On the road to Beverley, I saw a flourishing manufacture of cotton.

At Londonderry, a town chiefly inhabited by Irish, is a considerable manufacture of linen. We dined at Newberry with Mr. Tracy, who formerly enjoyed a great fortune, and has since been reduced by the failure of different enterprizes, particularly by a contract to furnish masts for the marine of France. The miscarriage of this undertaking, was owing to his having employed agents in procuring the first cargo who deceived him, and sent a parcel of refuse masts that were fit only for fire-wood. Though the manner in which Mr. Tracy had been deceived was sufficiently proved; yet, for the clerks of the marine at Versailles, whose interest it was to decry the American timber, this fact was sufficient to enable them to cause it ever after to be rejected. And Mr. Tracy's first cargo was

condemned and sold at Havre for 250 l. He lived retired; and with the consolation of his respectable wife, supports his misfortunes with dignity and firmness.

Newberry would be one of the best ports in the United States, were it not for a dangerous bar at the entrance. The business of ship-building has much declined here. In the year 1772 ninety vessels were built here, in 1788 only three. This town stands at the mouth of the fine river Marrimak, abounding in fish of different kinds.

Twenty-four miles of fine roads brings you from Newberry to Portsmouth, the capital of New Hampshire. There is little appearance of activity in this town. A thin population, many houses in ruins, women and children in rags; every thing announces decline. Yet there are elegant houses and some commerce. Portsmouth is on the Piscatuay, a rapid and deep river, which never freezes till four miles above the town. This was formerly one of the greatest markets for ship-timber. Colonel Wentworth, one of the most intelligent and esteemed citizens, was the agent of the English government and of the East Indian Company for that article. This company is now renewing its demands for this timber. Everything in this town is commerce and ship-building.

President Langdon himself is a merchant; he is extremely well informed in everything that concerns his country. You may recollect, that at the time of the invasion of Burgoyne, he was the first to mount his horse and lead off his fellow citizens to fight him. He appears well persuaded, as well as Colonel Wentworth, that the surest road to the prosperity of their country, is the adoption of the new federal government.

We left Portsmouth on Sunday, and came to dine at Mr. Dalton's, five miles from Newberry, on the Marrimak; this is one of the finest situations that can be imagined.

It presents an agreeable prospect of seven leagues. This farm is extremely well arranged; I saw on it thirty cows, numbers of sheep, etc., and a well furnished garden. Mr. Dalton occupies himself much in gardening, a thing generally neglected in America. He has fine grapes, apples and pears; but he complains that children steal them; an offence readily pardoned in a free country. A proprietor here, who, to prevent these little thefts, should make use of those infernal mantraps, invented by the English, would justly be execrated by his fellow creatures.

Mr. Dalton received me with that frankness which bespeaks a man of worth and of talents; with that hospitality which is more general in Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, than in the other States.

The Americans are not accustomed to what we call grand feasts; they treat strangers as they treat themselves every day, and they live well. They say they are not anxious to starve themselves the week, in order to gormandise on Sunday. This trait will paint to you a people at their ease, who wish not to torment themselves for show.

Mr. Dalton's house presented me with the image of a true patriarchal family, and of great domestic felicity; it is composed of four or five handsome young women, drest with decent simplicity, his amiable wife, and his venerable father of eighty years. This respectable old man preserves a good memory, a good appetite, and takes habitual exercise. He has no wrinkles in his face, which seems to be a characteristic of American old age; at least I have often observed it.

From Mr. Dalton's we came to Andover, where my companion presented me to the respectable pastor of the parish, Doctor Symmes, in whom I saw a true model of a minister of religion, purity of morals, simplicity in his manner of life, and gentleness of character. He cheers



his solitude with a respectable wife, by whom he has had many children. And the cultivation of his farm occupies those moments which are not necessarily devoted to study, and to the care of the souls committed to his charge.

## LETTER XL

### DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES

You have seen, my friend, in the Encyclopedia, a state of the American debt brought down to the year of 1784. This article, which I believe was furnished to the compilers by the learned Mr. Jefferson, contains some few errors. You may, however, draw from it some just ideas relative to the origin of the continental debt. There is no work which treats of the changes made in it since 1784, which is the principal object of my present letter.

You who are so versed in finance, will doubtless be struck with the errors committed by the Congress in laying the foundation of this debt, and with the sterility of their plans to remedy the want of money. But your surprise will vanish, when you examine the critical circumstances of that body of men to whom America owes her independence.

They must be supposed ignorant of the principles of finance; a science which their former situation had happily rendered unnecessary. They were pressed by the imperious necessity of a formidable invasion, to submission, or to combat; and they must pay those who should fight their battles.

The idea of paper money was the first, and perhaps the only one that could strike them. Its object was so sublime, and patriotism so fervent, that everything was to be expected from it. The Congress believed in it; and in multi-

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\*Since writing this sketch, I have incorporated into it the operations of the new Congress on Mr. Hamilton's report of September, 1789.

plying this paper, even in the midst of a rapid depreciation, they are not to be accused of ill faith; for they expected to redeem the whole.

The people manifested the same confidence. But the unexpected accumulation of the quantity, the consequent depreciation, and the gradual disappearance of danger, were the natural and united causes of a revolution of sentiment. To believe that this paper would not be redeemed at its nominal value, was in 1777 a crime. To say that it ought to be so redeemed, was in 1784 another crime.

Since the establishment of the new federal system, the opinion, with respect to the debt, has undergone a third revolution. Among a free people, it is impossible but truth and honor should sooner or later predominate. Almost all the Americans are at present convinced, that to arrive at the high degree of prosperity, to which the nature of things invites them, and to acquire the credit necessary for this purpose, they must fulfill, with the most scrupulous punctuality, all their engagements. And this conviction has determined the new Congress to make the finance the first great object of their attention.

The debt of the United States is divided into two classes, foreign and domestic. The foreign debt is composed, in capital, of a loan made in France of 24,000,000\*

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\*If the secret history of this debt contracted in France were published, it would discover the origin of many fortunes which have astonished us. It is certain, for instance, that M. de Vergennes disposed of these loans at pleasure, caused military stores and merchandise to be furnished by persons attached to him, and suffered not their accounts to be disputed. It is a fact, that in his accounts with Congress, there was one million of livres that he never accounted for, after all the demands that were made to him. It is likewise a fact, that out of the forty-seven millions pretended to be furnished in the above articles by France to Congress, the employment of twenty-one millions is without vouchers. Many fortunes may be made from twenty-one millions.

M. Beaumarchais, in a memoir published two years ago, pretends to be the creditor of Congress for millions. I have in my hands, a report made to Congress by two respectable members, in which they prove, that he now owes Congress 742,413 livres, and a million more, if the wandering million above-mentioned, has fallen into his hands. These reporters make a striking picture of the manoeuvres practised to deceive the Americans.

Will not the National Assembly cause some account to be rendered of the sums squandered in our part of the American war? or rather the sums which, instead of going to succour those brave strugglers for liberty, went to

of livres at 5 per cent., another made in Holland, under the guarantee of France, of 10,000,000 at 4 per cent., both amounting in dollars to 6,296,296, another in Spain, at 5 per cent., 174,011 dollars.

In Holland, in four different loans ..... 3,600,000

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Total capital .....10,070,307 doll.

Interest to Dec. 31, 1789 ..... 1,651,257

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Total, capital and interest .....11,721,564

Domestic debt liquidated, capital and in-

terest to the 31st Dec. 1790 .....40,414,085

Not liquidated, estimated at ..... 2,000,000

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Total, foreign and domestic .....54,124,464 doll.

In the prosecution of the war, each individual State had occasion to contract a debt of its own, which, for a variety of reasons, it was thought best that the Congress should assume and add to the general mass of the debt of the United States.

The sums thus assumed, which are sup-

posed to absorb nearly the whole of all

the State debts, amount in the whole to 25,000,000 doll.

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So that the total amount of the present

debt of the United States is .....79,124,464 doll.

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Annual interest of this sum, as stipulated 4,587,444

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adorn the bed-chambers of an actress? Adeline did more mischief to the Americans, than a regiment of Hessians. Where are the accounts of her favorite Veymerange? Why has not M. Nekar drawn the impenetrable veil which screens them from the public? And he, himself, has he nothing to answer for the choice he made of corrupted, weak, and wicked agents, and the facility with which he ratified their accounts?

Mr. Morris and Doctor Franklin have been censured in the American papers on account of these robberies. I am far from joining in the accusations against the latter; but I could wish he had given positive answers to the writer under the signature of Centinel.

To complete the list of what is annually to be paid, we must add the annual expences of the federal government. The following is the amount of the year 1790:

Civil list .....	254,892
Department of war .....	155,537
Military pensions .....	96,979
	<hr/>
	507,408

You see, my friend, from these details, that the expences of government among a free people, are far from that extravagance and pomp which are pretended to be necessary in other governments to delude the people, and which tend but to render them vicious and miserable.

You see, that with one hundred and ten thousand sterling, a government is well administered for four millions of people, inhabiting an extent of country greater than Germany, Flanders, Holland, and Switzerland united.\* And finally, you see that the Americans pay less than a million sterling a year for having maintained their liberty; while the English pay more than four millions sterling additional annual expense, for having attempted to rob them of it.

By the measures taken by the new government, the Americans are in a fair way not only to pay their interest, but to sink the principal of their debt; and that without direct taxation.

## LETTER XLI

### IMPORTATIONS INTO THE UNITED STATES

If you doubt, my friend, of the abilities of the United States to pay their debt, and the expences of their government, your doubts will be dissipated on casting your eye over the tables of their annual exportations.

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\*I speak only of the settled parts of the United States.

Many publications give, as an incontestible maxim, "A nation must import as little as possible, and export as much as possible." If they mean by this that she ought to produce as much as possible at home, it is true; but if they understand that a nation is necessarily poor when she imports much, it is false. For if she imports, she either consumes, and of consequence has wherewith to pay, or she re-exports, and consequently makes a profit. This maxim, like most of the dogmas of commerce, so confidently preached by the ignorant, is either trivial or false. The importations into the United States have much increased since the peace, as you will see by the following account of them, compared with the tables of Lord Sheffield, which represent periods antecedent to the war.

The following is the statement of the principal articles:

Rum, brandy, and other spirits .....	4,000,000 gall.
Wine .....	1,000,000
Hyson tea .....	125,000 lb.
Sugar .....	20,000,000
Coffee, cocoa, and chocolate .....	1,500,000
Molasses .....	3,000,000 gall.
Salt .....	1,000,000 barrl.

Besides the above articles, the importations of dry goods amount to more than twenty millions of dollars annually.

This general estimate is calculated from the custom-house books at New York for three years. Taking for basis that New York makes one-fifth of the general importations of the United States, it is believed that most of these articles are estimated much too low; and this idea is supported by the amount of duties collected since the new federal system has begun its operations.

A great proportion of these articles, you will be convinced, might be better imported from France than from any other country; and they will be, whenever we shall understand our interest. Mr. Swan says, that a million and a half of gallons of brandy might be brought annually from France; that it is cheaper than the rum of Jamaica, and altogether preferred by the Americans to the rum of our islands. He is likewise of opinion, that French wines might be introduced in abundance; but he recommends to our merchants, to observe good faith in this particular, as they have inundated the United States with bad Bourdeaux wine, which has reflected general discredit on all the wines of France. He gives the preference to the white wines of Grave, Pontac, St. Brise; and then to the Sauterne, Prignac, Barsac; among the red wines, he prefers the Chateau Maigol, the Segur, the Haut Heiss, the La Fite, etc. I drank excellent Champaign at Boston and New York; and Burgundy at Philadelphia, which is a proof that these wines will bear the sea. The quantity of twenty millions of imported sugar, is thought to be five millions below the reality; we may add to this, five millions of maple sugar made in the United States. What a difference between this consumption and ours! According to a calculation on the comparative number of inhabitants, France ought to consume two hundred millions; whereas our consumption is but eighty millions. By this fact you may judge of the difference between the inhabitants of the two continents. In America, even servants use sugar in abundance. In France, the artisans and peasants cannot enjoy this necessary article; which is consequently regarded as a superfluity. This circumstance will lead you to another observation, very important; this twenty millions of sugar is brought from our islands; from whence the exportation is rigidly prohibited. For what purpose then

these prohibitions for two neighbouring people, who have reciprocal wants? Is not this an invitation to governments to remove the barriers which are so easily broken over?

## LETTER XLII

### EXPORTATIONS AND MANUFACTURES

If anything can give an idea of the high degree of prosperity, to which these confederated republics are making rapid strides, it is the contemplation of these two subjects. It is impossible to enumerate all the articles to which they have turned their attention; almost one-half of which were unknown before the war. Among the principle ones are ship-building, flour, rice, tobacco, manufactures in woollen, linen, hemp, and cotton; the fisheries, oils, forges, and the different articles in iron and steel; instruments of agriculture, nails, leather, and the numerous objects in which they are employed; paper, pasteboard, parchment, printing, pot-ash, pearl-ash, hats of all qualities, ship timber, and other wood of construction; cabinet work, cordage, cables, carriages; works in brass, copper, and lead; glass of different kinds; gunpowder, cheese, butter, calicoes, printed linens, indigo, furs, etc. Ship building is one of the most profitable branches of business in America. They built ships here before the war; but they were not permitted to manufacture the articles necessary to equip them; every article is now made in the country. A fine ship, called the Massachusetts, of eight hundred tons, belonging to Mr. Shaw, had its sails and cordage wholly from the manufacture of Boston; this single establishment gives already two thousand yards of sail-cloth a week.

Breweries augment everywhere, and take place of the fatal distilleries. There are no less than fourteen good

breweries in Philadelphia. The infant woollen manufactory at Hartford, from September 1788 to September 1789, gave about five thousand yards of cloth, some of which sells at five dollars a yard; another at Watertown, in Massachusetts, promises equal success, and engages the farmers to multiply their sheep.

Cotton succeeds equally well. The spinning machines of Arkwright are well known here, and are made in the country.

We have justly remarked in our work on the United States, that nature invites the Americans to the labours of the forge, by the profuse manner in which she has covered their soil with wood, and interspersed it with metal and coals. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, make annually three hundred and fifty tons of steel, and six hundred tons of nails and nail rods. These articles are already exported from America; as are machines for carding wool and cotton, particularly common cards, which are cheaper than the English, and of a superior quality. In these three States are sixty-three paper-mills, which manufacture annually to the amount of 250,000 dollars. The State of Connecticut last year made five thousand reams, which might be worth nine thousand dollars.

The prodigious consumption of all kinds of glass, multiplies the establishment of glass works. The one on the Potowmack employs five hundred persons. They have begun with success, at Philadelphia, the printing of callicoes, cotton, and linen. Sugar refiners are increasing everywhere. In Pennsylvania are twenty-nine powder-mills, which are supposed to produce annually 625 tons of gunpowder.

Among the principal articles of exportation are wheat and flour. To form an idea of the augmentation of ex-



ports in the article of flour take the following facts: Philadelphia exported in the year

1786—150,000 barrels.

1787—202,000

1788—220,000

1789—360,000

Many well-informed men in America, have written different pamphlets on the augmentation of the commerce and manufacturers in the United States, which deserve attention; such as. "Enquiries into the Principles of a commercial System, by Tench Coxe." "Letter on the Work of Lord Sheffield. By Mr. Bingham." "National Arithmetic. By Mr. Swan," author of the work cited in my last letter.

### LETTER XLIII

#### AMERICAN TRADE TO THE EAST INDIES

In this commerce, my friend, you may see displayed the enterprizing spirit of the Americans; the first motive to it, was the hope of economizing in the price of East India goods, which they formerly imported from England, and this economy must be immense, if we judge of it by the great consumption of tea in America, and the high price it bears in England. In the year 1761, the English American colonies sent to England 85,000 l. sterling in Spanish dollars for this single article, and since that time the consumption of it has at least tripled.

Another motive which encouraged them to push this commerce, was the hope of being able to supply South America, the Spanish and other islands, and even the markets of Europe, with the goods of the East; and to obtain everywhere the preference, by the low price at which they might be afforded. And this project is not without foundation. The nature of things invites the Americans to be-

come the first carriers in the world. They build ships at two-thirds of the expence that they are built at in Europe; they navigate with less seamen, and at less expence, although they nourish their seamen better; they navigate with more safety, with more cleanliness, and with more intelligence, because the spirit of equality, which reigns at home, attends them likewise at sea. Nothing stimulates men to be good sailors like the hope of becoming captains.

The productions of their country are more favourable to this commerce than those of Europe. They carry ginseng to China; plank, ship-timber, flour, and salted provisions to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the isles of France and Bourbon. They are not, therefore, obliged to export so great a proportion of specie as the Europeans, who have establishments in the East. They are not obliged, like them, to maintain, at an enormous expence, troops, forts, ships of war, governors intendants, secretaries, clerks, and all the tools of despotism, as useless as they are expensive, of which the price must be added to that of the articles of this commerce.

No sea is impenetrable to the navigating genuis of the Americans. You see their flag everywhere displayed; you see them exploring all islands, studying their wants, and returning to supply them.

Our languishing colony of Cayenne, would have perished ten times with famine, if it depended on the regular promised supplies of the mother country. But it is provisioned by the Americans; who remedy thus the murderous calculations of European masters.

A sloop from Albany, of sixty tons and eleven men, had the courage to go to China. The Chinese, on seeing her arrive, took her for the cutter of some large vessel, and asked where was the great ship? We are the great ship; answered they to the Chinese, stupified at their hardness.

Our public papers vaunt the magnificence of the European nations, who make discoveries and voyages round the world: the Americans do the same thing; but they boast not of their exploits with so much emphasis. In September, 1790, the ship *Columbia*, Captain Gray, sailed to discover the northwest of this continent; this is his second voyage round the world; the brig *Hope* has sailed for the same object. Our papers have resounded with the quarrels of the English and Spaniards for the commerce of Nootka Sound. The Americans make no quarrels; but they have already made a considerable commerce on the same coast in furs and peltry. They were there trading in the year 1789, in good intelligence with both parties. In the same year, no less than forty-four vessels were sent from the single town of Boston to the northwest of America, to India, and to China. They bound not their hopes here: they expect, one day, to open a communication more direct to Nootka Sound. It is probable that this place is not far from the head waters of the Mississippi; which the Americans will soon navigate to its source, when they shall begin to people Louisiana and the interior of New Mexico.

This will be a fortunate epoch to the human race, when there shall be a third great change in the routes of maritime commerce. The Cape of Good Hope will then lose its reputation, and its afflux of commerce, as the Mediterranean had lost it before. The passage which the free Americans are called upon to open, which is still unknown, which, however, is easy to establish, and which will place the two oceans, the Atlantic and Pacific, in communication, is by the passage by the lake of Nicaragua.\* Nature so much favours this communication, which is destined to shorten the route to the East Indies, that the obstinacy of the nation which now possesses the country, cannot long

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\*This project exists; its length prevents my giving it here. The Americans expect one day to open this passage.

withstand its being opened. The Spaniards wish to monopolize every thing. The free Americans, on the contrary, seek the advantages of the great family of the human race.

#### LETTER XLIV.

##### THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

I have not the time, my friends, to describe to you the new country of the West; which, though at present unknown to the Europeans, must, from the nature of things, very soon merit the attention of every commercial and manufacturing nation. I shall lay before you at present only a general view of these astonishing settlements, and refer to another time the details which a speculative philosopher may be able to draw from them. At the foot of the Alleghanies, whose summits, however, do not threaten the heavens, like those of the Andes and the Alps, begins an immense plain, intersected with hills of a gentle ascent, and watered every where with streams of all sizes; the soil is from three to seven feet deep, and of an astonishing fertility; it is proper for every kind of culture, and it multiplies cattle almost without the care of man.

It is there that those establishments are formed, whose prosperity attracts so many emigrants; such as Kentucky, Frankland, Cumberland, Holston, Muskingum, and Scioto.

The oldest and most flourishing of these is Kentucky, which began in 1775, had eight thousand inhabitants in 1782, fifty thousand in 1787, and seventy thousand in 1790.\* It will soon be a State.

Cumberland, situated in the neighbourhood of Kentucky, contains 8,000 inhabitants, Holston, 5,000, and Frankland, 25,000.

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\*By a letter from Colonel Fowler, a representative in the legislature of Virginia from Kentucky, of the 16th of December, 1790, which the translator has seen, it appears, that the inhabitants of Kentucky at that time amounted to one hundred and seventy-three thousand.

On beholding the multiplication and happiness of the human species in these rapid and prosperous settlements, and comparing them with the languor and debility of colonies formed by despots, how august and venerable does the aspect of liberty appear! Her power is equal to her will: she commands, and forests are overturned, mountains sink to cultivated plains, and nature prepares an asylum for numerous generations; while the proud city of Palmyra perishes with its haughty founder, and its ruins attest to the world that nothing is durable, but what is founded and fostered by freedom. It appears that Kentucky will preserve its advantage over the other settlements on the south; its territory is more extensive, its soil more fertile, and its inhabitants more numerous; it is situated on the Ohio, navigable at almost all seasons, this last advantage is equally enjoyed by the two settlements of which I am going to speak. The establishment at the Muskingum was formed in 1788, by a number of emigrants from New England, belonging to the Ohio company. The Muskingum is a river which falls into the Ohio from the West. These people have an excellent soil, and every prospect of success.

From these proprietors is formed another association, whose name is more known in France; it is that of the Scioto Company,\* a name taken from a river, which after

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\*This company has been much caluminated. It has been accused of selling lands which it does not possess, of giving exaggerated accounts of its fertility, of deceiving the emigrants, of robbing France of her inhabitants, and of sending them to be butchered by the savages. But the title of this association is incontestible; the proprietors are reputable men; the description which they have given of the lands is taken from the public and authentic reports of Mr. Hutchins, Geographer of Congress. No person can dispute their prodigious fertility.

Certainly the aristocrats of France, who may emigrate thither under the foolish idea of forming a monarchy, would be fatally deceived in their expectations. They would fly from the French government, because it establishes the equality of rights, and they would fall into a society where this equality is consecrated even by the nature of things; where every man is solicited to independence by every circumstance that surrounds him, and especially by the facility of supplying his wants; they would fly to preserve their titles, their honors, their privileges; and they would fall into a new society, where the titles of pride and chance are despised, and even unknown.

This enterprise is suitable to the poor of Europe, who have neither property nor employment, and who have strength to labor. They would find at Scioto

having traversed the two million of acres which they possess, falls into the Ohio.

This settlement would soon rise to a high degree of prosperity, if the proper cautions were taken in the embarkation and the necessary means employed to solace them, and to prepare them for a kind of life so different from that to which they are accustomed.

The revolution in the American government, will, doubtless, be beneficial to the savages; for the government tends essentially to peace. But as a rapid increase of population must necessarily be the consequence of its operations, the savages must either blend with the Americans, or a thousand causes will speedily annihilate that race of men.

There is nothing to fear, that the danger from the savages will ever arrest the ardour of the Americans for extending their settlements. They all expect that the navigation of the Mississippi, which is becoming free, will soon open to them the markets of the islands, and the Spanish colonies, for the productions with which their country overflows. But the question to be solved is, whether the Spaniards will open this navigation willingly, or whether the Americans will force it. A kind of negotiation has been carried on, without effect for four years; and it is supposed, that certain States, fearing to lose their inhabitants by emigration to the West, have, in concert with the Spanish minister, opposed it; and that this con-

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the means of supplying their wants; the soil would give them its treasures, at the expense of a slight cultivation; the beasts of the forests would cover their tables, until they could rear cattle on their farms. It would be then rendering a service to the unfortunate people, who are deprived of the means of subsistence by the Revolution, to open to them this asylum, where they could obtain a property.

But, say the opposers, the poor may find these advantages in France. We have great quantities of uncultivated land; yes, but will the proprietors sell it for almost nothing? Will it produce equally with that of Scioto? Are provisions as cheap here as there? No; why then declaim so much against an emigration, useful at the same time to France, to the individuals, and to the United States? The man who, without much expense, and in a manner that should make it voluntary, could find the means of transporting to the forests of America the thirty thousand mendicants, whom fear, as well as humanity, obliges us to support in idleness in the neighborhood of Paris, that man would merit a statue. For he would at once cure the capital of a leprosy, and render thirty thousand people to happiness and good morals.

cert gave rise to a proposition, that Spain should shut up the navigation for twenty-five years, on condition that the Americans should have a free commerce with Spain. Virginia and Maryland, though they had more to fear from this emigration than the other States, were opposed to this proposition, as derogatory to the honour of the United States; and a majority of Congress adopted the sentiment.

A degree of diffidence, which the inhabitants of the West have shewn relative to the secret designs of Congress, has induced many people to believe, that the union would not exist a long time between the old and new States; and this probability of a rupture they say, is strengthened by some endeavours of the English in Canada, to attach the Western settlers to the English government.

But a number of reasons determine me to believe, that the present union will forever subsist. A great part of the property of the Western land belongs to people of the East; the unceasing emigrations serve perpetually to strengthen their connexions; and as it is for the interest both of the East and West, to open an extensive commerce with South America, and to overleap the Mississippi; they must, and will, remain united for the accomplishment of the object.

The Western inhabitants are convinced that this navigation cannot remain a long time closed. They are determined to open it by good will or by force; and it would not be in the power of Congress to moderate their ardour. Men who have shaken off the yoke of Great Britain, and who are masters of the Ohio and Mississippi, cannot conceive that the insolence of a handful of Spaniards can think of shutting rivers and seas against a hundred thousand free Americans. The slightest quarrel would be sufficient to throw them into a flame; and if ever the Americans shall march towards New Orleans, it will infallibly fall into

their hands. The Spaniards fear this moment; and it cannot be far off. If they had the policy to open the Mississippi, the port of New Orleans would become the centre of a lucrative commerce. But her narrow and superstitious policy will oppose it; for she fears, above all things, the communication of these principles of independence, which the Americans preach wherever they go; and to which their own success gives an additional weight.

In order to avert the effects of this enterprising character of the free Americans, the Spanish government has adopted the pitiful project of attracting them to a settlement on the west of the Mississippi,\* and by granting to those who shall establish themselves there, the exclusive right of trading to New Orleans. This colony is the first foundation of the conquest of Louisiana, and of the civilization of Mexico and Peru.

How desirable it is for the happiness of the human race, that this communication should extend! for cultivation and population here, will augment the prosperity of the manufacturing nations of Europe. The French and Spaniards, settled at the Natches, on the most fertile soil, have not, for a century, cultivated a single acre; while the Americans, who have lately made a settlement there, have at present three thousand farms of four hundred acres each; which furnish the greater part of the provisions for New Orleans. O Liberty! how great is thy empire; thou createst industry, which vivifies the dead.

I transport myself sometimes in imagination to the succeeding century. I see this whole extent of continent, from Canada to Quito, covered with cultivated fields, little villages, and country houses.\* I see Happiness and In-

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\*Colonel Morgan is at the head of this settlement.

\*America will never have enormous cities like London and Paris; which would absorb the means of industry and vitiate morals. Hence, it will result, that property will be more equally divided, population greater, manners less corrupted, and industry and happiness more universal.



dust, smiling side by side, Beauty adorning the daughter of Nature, Liberty and Morals rendering almost useless the coercion of government and laws, and gentle Tolerance taking place of the ferocious Inquisition. I see Mexicans, Peruvians, men of the United States, Frenchmen, and Canadians, embracing each other, cursing tyrants, and blessing the reign of Liberty, which leads to universal harmony. But the mines, the slaves, what is to become of them? The mines will be closed, and the slaves will become the brothers of their masters. As to gold, it is degrading to a free country to dig for it, unless it can be done without slaves; and a free people cannot want for signs to serve as a medium in exchanging their commodities. Gold has always served more the cause of despotism than that of liberty; and liberty will always find less dangerous agents to serve in its place.

Our speculators in Europe are far from imagining that two revolutions are preparing on this continent, which will totally overturn the ideas and the commerce of the old: the opening a canal of communication between the two oceans, and abandoning the mines of Peru. Let the imagination of the philosopher contemplate the consequences. They cannot but be happy for the human race.

#### FINIS.

[A little later edition of M. Brissot de Warvilles' work contains the following additional valuable material.]

#### ON THE WESTERN TERRITORY

It is a mistake in those who imagine that the new State of Kentucky comprises the Western territory of North America. That new State includes but a small part of this great domain. The State of Kentucky is described to be bounded on the south by North Carolina, on the north by Sandy Creek, on the west by Cumberland River,

making about 250 miles in length and 200 miles in breadth; whereas the whole Western territory is infinitely more extensive. The limits are unknown; but that part of it, which was surveyed by Captain Hutchins, geographer to the Congress, he has given us a short account of. From his account, because it is known to be authentic, we have extracted the following.

The part he surveyed lies between the 33d and 45th degrees of latitude, and the 78th and 94th degrees of longitude, containing an extent of territory which, for healthfulness, fertility of soil, and variety of productions, is not perhaps surpassed by any on the habitable globe.

"The lands comprehended between the river Ohio, at Fort Pitt, and the Laurel mountain, and thence continuing the same breadth from Fort Pitt to the Great Kanhawa River, may, according to my own observations, and those of the late Mr. Gist, of Virginia, be generally and justly described as follows.

"The vallies adjoining to the branches or springs of the middle forks of Youghiogeny, are narrow towards its source—but there is a considerable quantity of good farming grounds on the hills, near the largest branch of that river. The lands within a small distance of the Laurel mountain (through which the Youghiogeny runs) are in many places broken and stony, but rich and well timbered; and in some places, and particularly on Laurel Creek, they are rocky and mountainous.

"From the Laurel mountain, to Monongahela, the first seven miles are good, level, farming grounds, with fine meadows; the timber, white oak, chestnut, hickory etc. The same kind of land continues southerly (twelve miles) to the upper branches or forks of this river and about fifteen miles northerly to the place where the Youghiogeny falls into the Monongahela. The lands, for about eighteen

miles in the same course of the last-mentioned river, on each side of it, though hilly, are rich and well timbered. The trees are walnut, locust, chestnut, poplar, and sugar or sweet maple. The low lands near the river, are about a mile, and in several places two miles wide. For a considerable way down the river on the eastern side of it, the intervals are extremely rich, and about a mile wide. The upland for about twelve miles eastwardly, are uncommonly fertile, and well timbered; the low lands, on the western side, are narrow; but the uplands, on the eastern side of the river, both up and down, are excellent, and covered with sugar trees, etc.

“Such parts of the country which lie on some of the branches of the Monongahela and across the heads of several rivers, that run into the Ohio, though in general hilly, are exceedingly fruitful and well watered. The timber is walnut, chestnut, ash, oak, sugar trees, etc., and the interval of meadow lands are from 250 yards to a quarter of a mile wide.

“The lands lying nearly in a north-westerly direction from the Great Kanhawa River to the Ohio, and thence north-easterly, and also upon Le Tort’s Creek, Little Kanhawa River, Buffaloe, Fishing, Wheeling, and the two upper and two lower, and several other very considerable creeks (or what, in Europe would be called large rivers), and thence east, and southeast to the river Monongahela, are, in point of quality, as follows.

“The borders or meadow lands, are a mile, and in some places near two miles wide; and the uplands are in common of a most fertile soil, capable of abundantly producing wheat, hemp, flax, etc.

“The lands which lie upon the Ohio, at the mouth of, and between the above creeks, also consist of rich intervals and very fine farming grounds. The whole country

abounds in bears, elks, buffaloe, deer, turkies, etc.—an unquestionable proof of the extraordinary goodness of its soil. Indiana lies within the territory here described. It contains about three millions and a half of acres, and was granted to Samuel Wharton, William Trent, and George Morgan, Esquires, and a few other persons, in the year 1768.

“Fort Pitt stands at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monogahela rivers; in latitude  $40^{\circ} 31' 44''$ ; and about five degrees westward of Philadelphia. In the year 1760, a small town, called Pittsburgh, was built near Fort Pitt, and about 200 families resided in it; but upon the Indian war breaking out (in the month of May, 1763) they abandoned their houses and retired into the fort.

“In the year 1765, the present town of Pittsburgh was laid out. It is built on the eastern bank of the river Monogahela, about 200 yards from Fort Pitt.

“The junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, forms the river Ohio, and this discharges itself into the Mississippi, (in latitude  $36^{\circ} 43'$ ) about 1,188 computed miles from Fort Pitt. The Ohio in its passage to the Mississippi, glides through a pleasant, fruitful, and healthy country; and carries a great uniformity of breadth, from 400 to 600 yards, except at its confluence with the Mississippi, and for 100 miles above it, where it is 1,000 yards wide. The Ohio, for the greater part of the way to the Mississippi, has many meanders, or windings and rising grounds upon both sides of it.

“The reaches in the Ohio are in some parts from two to four miles in length, and one of them, above the Muskingum River, called the Long Reach, is sixteen miles and a half long. The Ohio, about 100 miles above, or northerly of the Rapids, (formerly called the Falls) is in many places 700 yards wide; and as it approaches them, the high

grounds on its borders gradually diminish, and the country becomes more level. Some of the banks, or heights of this river, are at times overflowed by great freshes, yet there is scarce a place between Fort Pitt and the Rapids (a distance of 705 computed miles) where a good road may not be made; and horses employed in drawing up large barges (as is done on the margin of the river Thames in England, and the Seine in France) against a stream remarkably gentle, except in high freshes. The heights of the banks of the Ohio admit them every where to be settled, as they are not liable to crumble away.

“To these remarks, it may be proper to add the following observations of the ingenious Mr. Lewis Evans. He says that ‘the Ohio River, as the winter snows are thawed by the warmth or rains in the spring, rises in vast floods, in some places exceeding twenty feet in height, but scarce any where overflowing its high and upright banks. These floods,’ Mr. Evans adds, ‘continue of some height for at least a month or two, according to the late or early breaking up of the winter. Vessels from 100 to 200 tons burthen, by taking the advantage of these floods, may go from Pittsburgh to the sea with safety, as then the Falls, Rifts, and Shoals, are covered to an equality with the rest of the rivers’—and though the distance is upwards of 2,000 miles from Fort Pitt to the sea, yet as there are no obstructions to prevent vessels from proceeding both day and night, I am persuaded that this extraordinary inland voyage may be performed, during the season of the floods, by rowing, in sixteen or seventeen days.

“The navigation of the Ohio in a dry season, is rather troublesome from Fort Pitt to the Mingo town (about seventy-five miles), but from thence to the Mississippi, there is always a sufficient depth of water for barges, carrying from 100 to 200 tons burthen, built in the man-

ner as those of which are used on the river Thames, between London and Oxford;—to-wit, from 100 to 120 feet in the keel, sixteen to eighteen feet in breadth, and four feet in depth, and when loaded, drawing about three feet water.

“The Rapids, in a dry season, are difficult to descend with loaded boats or barges.

[But instead of the carrying place now used, it is intended to substitute a canal on the contrary side of the river.]

“Most of the hills on both sides of the Ohio are filled with excellent coal, and a coal mine was, in the year 1760, opened opposite to Fort Pitt on the river Monongahela, for the use of the garrison. Salt springs, as well as iron ore, and rich lead mines, are found bordering upon the river Ohio. One of the latter is opened on a branch of the Scioto River, and there the Indian natives supply themselves with a considerable part of the lead which they use in their wars and hunting.

“About 584 miles below Fort Pitt, and on the eastern side of the Ohio River, about three miles from it, at the head of a small creek or run, where are several large and miry salt springs, are found numbers of large bones, teeth, and tusks, commonly supposed to be those of elephants—but the celebrated Doctor Hunter, of London, in his ingenious and curious observations on these bones, etc., has supposed them to belong to some carnivorous animal, larger than an ordinary elephant.

“On the northwestern side of Ohio, about eleven miles below the Cherokee River, on a high bank, are the remains of Fort Massac, built by the French, and intended as a check to the southern Indians. It was destroyed by them in the year 1763. This is a high, healthy, and delightful situation. A great variety of game—buffaloe, bear, deer,

etc., as well as ducks, geese, swans, turkies, pheasants, partridges, etc., abounds in every part of this country.

"The Ohio and the rivers emptying into it afford green, and other turtle, and fish of various sorts; particularly carp, sturgeon, perch, and cats; the two latter of an uncommon size, viz., perch, from eight to twelve pounds weight and cats from fifty to one hundred pounds weight.

"The lands upon the Ohio, and its branches, are differently timbered according to their quality and situation. The high and dry lands are covered with red, white, and black oak, hickory, walnut, red and white mulberry and ash trees, grape vines, etc.; the low and meadow lands with sycamore, poplar, red and white mulberry, cherry, beech, elm, aspen, maple, or sugar trees, grape vines, etc.; and below, or southwardly of the Rapids, are several large cedar and cypress swamps, where the cedar and cypress grow to a remarkable size, and where also is a great abundance of canes, such as grow in South Carolina. The country on both sides of the Ohio, extending south-easterly, and south-westerly from Fort Pitt to the Mississippi, and watered by the Ohio River, and its branches, contains at least a million of square miles, and it may, with truth, be affirmed, that no part of the globe is blessed with a more healthful air, or climate; watered with more navigable rivers and branches communicating with the Atlantic ocean, by the rivers Potowmack, James, Rappahannock, Mississippi, and St. Lawrence, or capable of producing, with less labour and expence, wheat, Indian corn, buckwheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, rice, silk, pot-ash, etc., than the country under consideration. And although there are considerable quantities of high lands for about 250 miles (on both sides of the river Ohio) southwardly from Fort Pitt, yet even the summits of most of the hills are covered with a deep rich soil, fit for the cul-

ture of flax and hemp; and it may also be added, that no soil can possibly yield larger crops of red and white clover, and other useful grass, than this does.

“On the northwest and southeast sides of the Ohio, below the great Kanhawa River, at a little distance from it, are extensive natural meadows, or savannahs. These meadows are from twenty to fifty miles in circuit. They have many beautiful groves of trees interspersed, as if by art, in them, and which serve as a shelter for the innumerable herds of buffaloe, deer, etc., with which they abound.”

I am obliged to a worthy friend, and countryman, for the following just and judicious observations. They were addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American department; and were written by Mr. Samuel Wharton, of Philadelphia, who at that time resided in London, having some business there with Mr. Strahan, Mr. Almon, etc.

“No part of North America,” he says, “will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores, and raw materials for manufactories in Europe; and for supplying the West India islands with lumber, provisions, etc., than the country of the Ohio;—and for the following reasons.

“First, the lands are excellent, the climate temperate, the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry trees, abound every where: hemp, hops, and rye, grow spontaneously in the valleys and low lands, lead, and iron ore are plenty in the hills, salt springs are innumerable; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

“Second, the country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; by which, and a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now (in the year 1772) be sent cheaper to sea-port town of Alexandria, on the river Potomack in Virginia (where General Braddock’s transports landed his



troops), than any kind of merchandise is sent from Northampton to London.

"Third, the Ohio River is, at all seasons of the year, navigable with large boats, like the west country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of February to April large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent to sea laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, pot-ash, etc.

"Fourth, flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles, can be sent down the stream of the Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the West India islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia to these islands.

"Fifth, hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, may also be sent down the stream of the Ohio to the sea, and at least fifty per cent. cheaper than these articles were ever carried by a land carriage, of only sixty miles, in Pennsylvania; where waggonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

"Sixth, the expence of transporting European manufactures from the sea to the Ohio, will not be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the countries of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers, or merchants of Ohio, shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, etc., on the Ohio, suitable for the West India, or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, etc., properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts, in the manner that is now done by the settlers near the upper parts of Delaware River in Pennsylvania, and thereon stow their hemp, iron, tobacco, etc., and proceed with them to New Orleans.

"It may not, perhaps, be amiss, to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the distant (western) counties of Pennsylvania, and sent by an expensive land carriage to the city of Philadelphia and from thence shipped to South Carolina, and to East and West Florida, there being little or no wheat raised in these provinces. The river Ohio seems kindly designed by nature as the channel through which the two Floridas may be supplied

with flour, not only for their own consumption, but also for the carrying on of an extensive commerce with Jamaica and the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Mill-stones in abundance are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio, and the country is everywhere well watered with large and constant springs and streams, for grist, and other mills.

"The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola, is seldom made in less than a month, and sixty shillings sterling per ton freight (consisting of sixteen barrels) is usually paid for flour, etc., thither. Boats carrying 800 or 1,000 barrels of flour may go in about the same time from the Ohio (even from Pittsburgh) as from Philadelphia to Pensacola, and for half the above freight, the Ohio merchants would be able to deliver flour, etc., there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, etc., as from thence to Pensacola.

"This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746, there was a great scarcity of provisions at New Orleans, and the French settlements, at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither in one winter upwards of eight hundred thousand weight of flour."

"I shall now proceed to give a brief account of the several rivers and creeks which fall into the river Ohio.

"Canawagy, when raised by freshes, is passable with small battoes, to a little lake at its head—from thence there is a portage of twenty miles to Lake Erie, at the mouth of Jadaghque. This portage is seldom used, because Canawagy has scarcely any water in it in a dry season.

"Bughaloons is not navigable, but is remarkable for extensive meadows bordering upon it.

"French Creek affords the nearest passage to Lake Erie. It is navigable with small boats to Le Beuf, by a very crooked channel; the portage thence to Presquile, from an adjoining peninsula, is fifteen miles. This is the usual route from Quebec to Ohio.

“Licking and Lacomie Creeks do not afford any navigation; but there is plenty of coals and stones for building in the hills which adjoin them.

“Toby’s Creek is deep enough for batteaus for a considerable way up, thence by a short portage to the west branch of Susquehannah, a good communication is carried on between Ohio and the eastern parts of Pennsylvania.

“Moghulbughkitum is passable also by flat bottom boats in the same manner as Toby’s Creek is to Susquehannah, and from thence to all the settlements in the Northumberland County, etc., in Pennsylvania.

“Kishkeminetas is navigable in like manner as the preceding creeks, for between forty and fifty miles, and good portages are found between Kishkeminetas, Janiatta, and Potomac rivers—coal and salt are discovered in the neighbourhood of these rivers.

“Monongahela is a large river, and at its junction with the Allegheny River stands Fort Pitt. It is deep, and gentle, and navigable with battoes and barges, beyond Red Stone Creek, and still farther with lighter craft. At sixteen miles from its mouth is Youghiogeny; this river is navigable with battoes or barges to the foot of Laurel hill.

“Beaver Creek has water sufficient for flat bottom boats. At Kishkushes (about sixteen miles up) are two branches of this creek, which spread opposite ways; one interlocks with French Creek and Cherage—the other with Muskingum and Cayahoga; on this branch, about thirty-five miles above the forks, are many salt springs.—Cayahoga is practicable with canoes about twenty miles farther.

“Muskingum is a fine gentle river, confined by high banks, which prevent its floods from overflowing the surrounding land. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable, without any obstructions, by

large battoes or barges, to the three Legs's and by small ones to a little lake at its head.

"From thence to Cayahoga (the creek that leads to Lake Erie) the Muskingum is muddy, and not very swift, but nowhere obstructed with falls or rifts. Here are fine uplands, extensive meadows, oak and mulberry trees fit for ship building, and walnut, chestnut, and poplar trees, suitable for domestic services.—Cayahoga furnishes the best portage between Ohio and Lake Erie; at its mouth it is wide and deep enough to receive large sloops from the lake. It will hereafter be a place of great importance.

"Muskingum, in all its wide-extended branches, is surrounded by most excellent land, and abounds in springs, and conveniencies particularly adapted to settlements remote from sea navigations—such as salt springs, coal, clay, and free stone. In 1748, a coal mine opposite to Lamenshicola mouth took fire, and continued burning about twelve months, but great quantities of coal still remain in it. Near the same place are excellent whetstones, and about eight miles higher up the river is plenty of white and blue clay for glass works and pottery.

"Hockhocking is navigable with large flat bottom boats between seventy and eighty miles; it has fine meadows with high banks, which seldom overflow, and rich uplands on its borders. Coal and quarries of freestone are found about fifteen miles up this creek.

"Big Kanhawa falls into the Ohio upon its south-eastern side, and is so considerable a branch of this river, that it may be mistaken for the Ohio itself by persons ascending it. It is slow for ten miles, to little broken hills—the low land is very rich, and of about the same breadth (from the pipe hills to the falls) as upon the Ohio. After going ten miles up Kanhawa the land is hilly, and the water a little rapid for fifty or sixty miles further to the

falls, yet battoes or barges may be easily rowed thither. These falls were formerly thought impassable; but late discoveries have proved, that a wagon road may be made through the mountain, which occasions the falls, and that by a portage of a few miles only a communication may be had between the waters of great Kanhawa and Ohio, and those of James River in Virginia.

"Tottery lies upon the south-eastern side of the Ohio, and is navigable with battoes to the Ouasioto mountains. It is a long river, has few branches, and interlocks with Red Creek, or Clinche's River (a branch of the Cuttawa); and has below the mountains, especially for fifteen miles from its mouth, very good land. Here is a perceptible difference of climate between the upper and this part of Ohio. Here the large reed, or Carolina cane, grows in plenty, even upon the uplands, and the winter is so moderate as not to destroy it. The same moderation of climate continues down Ohio, especially on the south-east side, to the Rapids, and thence on both sides of that river to the Mississippi.

"Great Salt Lick Creek is remarkable for fine land, plenty of buffaloes, salt springs, white clay, and lime stone. Small boats may go to the crossing of the war path without any impediment. The salt springs render the waters unfit for drinking, but the plenty of fresh springs in their vicinity, makes sufficient amends for this inconvenience.

"Kentucke is larger than the preceding creek; it is surrounded with high clay banks, fertile lands, and large salt springs. Its navigation is interrupted by shoals, but passable with small boats to the gap, where the war path goes through the Ouasioto mountains.

"Scioto, is a large gentle river, bordered with rich flats, or meadows. It overflows in the spring, and then spreads

about half a mile, though when confined within its banks it is scarce a furlong wide.

"If it floods early, it seldom retires within its banks in less than a month, and is not fordable frequently in less than two months.

"The Scioto, besides having a great extent of most excellent land on both sides of the river, is furnished with salt, on an eastern branch, and red bole on Necunsia Skeinat. The stream of Scioto is gentle and passable with large battoes or barges for a considerable way, and with smaller boats, near 200 miles, to a portage of only four miles to Sandusky.

"Sandusky is a considerable river abounding in level land, its stream gentle all the way to the mouth, where it is large enough to receive sloops. The northern Indians cross Lake Erie here from island to island, land at Sandusky, and go by a direct path to the lower Shawnee town, and thence to the gap of the Ouasioto mountain, in their way to the Cuttawa country.

"Little Mineami River is too small to navigate with battoes. It has much fine land and several salt springs; its high banks and gentle current prevent its much overflowing the surrounding lands in freshes.

"Great Mineami, Assereniet, or Rocky River, has a very stony channel; a swift stream, but no falls. It has several large branches, passable with boats a great way; one extending westward towards the Quiaghtena River, another towards a branch of Mineami River (which runs into Lake Erie), to which there is a portage, and a third has a portage to the west branch of Sandusky, besides Mad Creek, where the French formerly established themselves. Rising ground, here and there a little stony, which begins in the northern part of the peninsula, between the Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and extends across little Mineami

River below the Forks, and southwardly along the Rocky River to Ohio.

“Buffaloe River falls into the Ohio on the eastern side of it, at the distance of 925 computed miles from Fort Pitt. It is a very considerable branch of the Ohio; is 200 yards wide, navigable upwards of 150 miles for battoes or barges, of thirty feet long, five feet broad, and three feet deep, carrying about seven tons, and can be navigated much farther with large canoes. The stream is moderate. The lands on both sides of the river are of a most luxuriant quality, for the production of hemp, flax, wheat, tobacco, etc. They are covered with a great variety of lofty, and useful timbers; as oak, hickory, mulberry, elm, etc. Several persons who have ascended this river say, that salt springs, coal, lime, and free stone, etc., are to be found in a variety of places.

“The Wabash is a beautiful river, with high and upright banks, less subject to overflow than any other river (the Ohio excepted) in this part of America. It discharges itself into the Ohio, one thousand and twenty-two miles below Fort Pitt, in latitude  $37^{\circ} 41'$ . At its mouth it is 270 yards wide; is navigable to Ouiatanon (412) miles) in the spring, summer, autumn, with battoes or barges, drawing about three feet water. From thence, on account of a rocky bottom, and shoal water, large canoes are chiefly employed, except when the river is swelled with rains, at which time it may be ascended with boats, such as I have just described (197 miles further) to the Miami carrying place, which is nine miles from the Miami village, and this is situated on a river of the same name, that runs into the south-southwest part of Lake Erie. The stream of the Wabash is generally gentle to Fort Ouiatanon, and no where obstructed with falls, but is by several rapids, both above and below that fort, some of which are pretty con-

siderable. There is also a part of the river, for about three miles, and thirty miles from the carrying place, where the channel is so narrow, that it is necessary to make use of setting poles, instead of oars. The land on this river is remarkably fertile, and several parts of it are natural meadow, of great extent, covered with fine long grass. The timber is large, and high, and in such variety, that almost all the different kinds growing upon the Ohio and its branches (but with a greater proportion of black and white mulberry trees) may be found here. A silver mine has been discovered about twenty-eight miles above Ouiatanon, on the northern side of the Wabash, and probably others may be found hereafter. The Wabash abounds with salt springs, and any quantity of salt may be made from them, in the manner now done at the Saline in the Illinois country—the hills are replenished with the best coal, and there is plenty of lime and free stone, blue, yellow, and white clay, for glass work and pottery. Two French settlements are established on the Wabash, called Post Vincient and Ouiatanon; the first is 150 miles, and the other 162 miles from its mouth. The former is on the eastern side of the river, and consists of sixty settlers and their families. They raise Indian corn, wheat, and tobacco of an extraordinary good quality; superior, it is said, to that produced in Virginia. They have a fine breed of horses (brought originally by the Indians from the Spanish settlements on the western side of the river Mississippi), and large stocks of swine and black cattle. The settlers deal with the natives for furs and deer skins, to the amount of about 5,000 lbs. annually. Hemp of a good texture grows spontaneously in the low lands of the Wabash, as do grapes in the greatest abundance, having a black, thin skin, and of which the inhabitants in the autumn make a sufficient quantity (for their own consumption) of well-



tasted red-wine. Hops large and good are found in many places, and the lands are particularly adapted to the culture of rice. All European fruits—apples, peaches, pears, cherries, currants, gooseberries, melons, etc., thrive well, both here, and in the country bordering on the river Ohio.

“Ouiatanon is a small stockaded fort on the western side of the Wabash, in which about a dozen families reside. The neighbouring Indians are the Kickapoos, Musquitons, Pyankishaws, and a principal part of the Ouiatanons. The whole of these tribes consist, it is supposed, of about one thousand warriors. The fertility of soil, and diversity of timber in this country, are the same as in the vicinity of Post Vincient. The annual amount of skins and furs obtained at Ouitanon is about 8,000 lbs. By the river Wabash, the inhabitants of Detroit move to the southern parts of Ohio, and the Illinois country. Their rout is by the Miami river to a carrying-place, which, as before stated, is nine miles to the Wabash, when this river is raised with freshes; but at other seasons, the distance is from eighteen to thirty miles, including the portage. The whole of the latter is through a level country. Carts are usually employed in transporting boats and merchandise from the Miami to the Wabash River.

“The Shawanoe River empties itself on the eastern side of Ohio, about ninety-five miles southwardly of the Wabash River. It is 250 yards wide at its mouth, has been navigated 180 miles in battoes of the construction of those mentioned in the preceding article, and from the depth of water at that distance from its mouth, it is presumed, it may be navigated much further. The soil and timber of the lands, upon this river, are exactly the same as those upon Buffaloe River.

“The Cherokee River discharges itself into the Ohio on the same side that the Shawanoe River does, that is, thir-

teen miles below or southerly of it, and eleven miles above, or northerly of the place where Fort Massac formerly stood, and fifty-seven miles from the confluence of the Ohio with the river Mississippi. The Cherokee River has been navigated 900 miles from its mouth. At the distance of 220 miles from thence, it widens from 400 yards (its general width) to between two and three miles, and continues this breadth for near thirty miles farther. The whole of this distance is called the Muscle Shoals. Here the channel is obstructed with a number of islands, formed by trees and drifted wood, brought hither, at different seasons of the year, in freshes and floods. In passing these islands, the middle of the widest intermediate water is to be navigated, as there it is deepest. From the mouth of the Cherokee River to Muscle Shoals the current is moderate, and both the high and low lands are rich, and abundantly covered with oaks, walnut, sugar trees, hickory, etc. About 200 miles above these shoals is, what is called, the Whirl, or Suck, occasioned, I imagine, by the high mountain, which there confines the river (supposed to be the Laurel mountain). The Whirl, or Suck, continues rapid for about three miles. Its width about fifty yards. Ascending the Cherokee River, and at about 100 miles from the Suck, and upon the south-eastern side of that river, is Highwasee River. Vast tracts of level and rich land border on this river; but at a small distance from it, the country is much broken, and some parts of it produce only pine trees. Forty miles higher up the Cherokee River, on the northwestern side, is Clinche's River. It is 150 yards wide, and about fifty miles up it several families are settled. From Clinche's to Tennessee River is 100 miles. It comes in on the eastern side, and is 250 yards wide. About ten miles up this river, is a Cherokee town, called Chota, and further up this branch are several other Indian towns, possessed by In-

dians, called the Overhill Cherokees. The navigation of this branch is much interrupted by rocks, as is also the river called French Broad, which comes into the Cherokee River fifty miles above the Tenessee, and on the same side. One hundred and fifty miles above French Broad is Long Island (three miles in length) and from thence to the source of the Cherokee River is sixty miles, and the whole distance is so rocky, as to be scarcely navigable with a canoe.

“By the Cherokee River, the emigrants from the frontier counties of Virginia, and North Carolina, pass to the settlements in West Florida, upon the river Mississippi. They embark at Long Island.

“I will now proceed to give a description of that part called the Illinois country, lying between the Mississippi westerly, the Illinois River northerly, the Wabash easterly, and the Ohio southerly.

“The land at the confluence, or fork of the rivers Mississippi and Ohio, is above twenty feet higher than the common surface of these rivers; yet so considerable are the spring floods, that it is generally overflowed for about a week, as are the lands for several miles back in the country.—The soil at the fork is composed of mud, earth, and sand, accumulated from the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It is exceedingly fertile, and in its natural state yields hemp, pea-vines, grass, etc., and a great variety of trees, and in particular the aspen tree, of an unusual height and thickness.

“For twenty-five miles up the Mississippi (from the Ohio) the country is rich, level, and well timbered; and then several gentle rising grounds appear, which gradually diminish at the distance of between four and five miles eastward from the river. From thence to the Kaskaskias River is sixty-five miles. The country is a mixture of hills, and

vallies; some of the former are rocky and steep; but they, as well as the vallies, are shaded with fine oaks, hickory, walnut, ash, and mulberry trees, etc. Some of the high grounds afford most pleasant situations for settlements. Their elevated and airy positions, together with the great luxuriance of the soil, everywhere yielding plenty of grass, and useful plants, promise health, and ample returns to industrious settlers.

"Many quarries of lime, free-stone, and marble, have been discovered in this part of the country.

"Several creeks and rivers fall into the Mississippi, in the above distance (of sixty-five miles), but no remarkable ones, except the rivers Vase and Kaskaskias; the former is navigable for battoes about sixty, and the latter for about 130 miles;—both these rivers run through a rich country, abounding in extensive, natural meadows, and numerous herds of buffaloe, deer, etc.

"The high grounds, just mentioned, continue along the eastern side of the Kaskaskias River, at a small distance from it, for the space of five miles and a half, to the Kaskaskias village; then they incline more towards that river, and run nearly parallel with the eastern bank of the Mississippi, at the distance of about three miles in some parts, and four in other parts from it. These are principally composed of lime and free-stone, and from 100 to 130 feet high, divided in several places by deep cavities, through which many small rivulets pass before they fall into the Mississippi. The sides of these hills, fronting this river, are in many places perpendicular—and appear like solid pieces of stone masonry, of various colours, figures, and sizes.

"The low land between the hills and the Mississippi, begins on the north side of the Kaskaskias River, and continues for three miles above the river Missouri, where a

high ridge terminates it, and forms the eastern bank of the Mississippi.—This interval land is level, has few trees, and is of a very rich soil, yielding shrubs and most fragrant flowers, which, added to the number and extent of meadows and ponds dispersed through this charming valley, render it exceedingly beautiful and agreeable.

“In this vale stand the following villages, namely, Kaskaskias, which, as already mentioned, is five miles and a half up a river of the same name, running northerly and southerly.—This village contains eighty houses, many of them well built; several of stone, with gardens, and large lots adjoining. It consists of about 500 white inhabitants, and between four and five hundred negroes. The former have large stocks of black cattle, swine, etc.

“Three miles northerly of Kaskaskias, is a village of Illinois Indians (of the Kaskaskias tribe) containing about 210 persons and sixty warriors. They were formerly brave and war-like, but are degenerated into a drunken and debauched tribe, and so indolent, as scarcely to procure a sufficiency of skins and furs to barter for clothing.

“Nine miles further northward than the last mentioned village, is another, called La Prairie du Rocher, or the Rock meadows. It consists of 100 white inhabitants, and eighty negroes.

“Three miles northerly of this place, on the banks of the Mississippi, stood Fort Chartres. It was abandoned in the year 1772, as it was rendered untenable by the constant washings of the river Mississippi in high floods.—The village of Fort Chartres, a little southward of the fort, contained so few inhabitants, as not to deserve my notice.

“One mile higher up the Mississippi than Fort Chartres, is a village settled by 170 warriors of the Piorias and Mitchigamias (two other tribes of the Illinois Indians):

They are as idle and debauched as the tribe of *Kaskaskias* which I have just described.

"Four miles higher than the preceding village, is *St. Philip's*. It was formerly inhabited by about a dozen families, but at present is possessed only by two or three.—The others have retired to the western side of the *Mississippi*.

"Forty-five miles further northwards than *St. Philip's* (and one mile up a small river on the southern side of it) stands the village of *Cahokia*. It has fifty houses, many of them well built, and 300 inhabitants, possessing eighty negroes, and large stocks of black cattle, swine, etc.

"Four miles above *Cahokia*, on the western or Spanish side of the *Mississippi*, stands the village of *St. Louis*, on a high piece of ground. It is the most healthy and pleasurable situation of any known in this part of the country. Here the Spanish commandant and the principle Indian traders reside; who, by conciliating the affections of the natives, have drawn all the Indian trade of the *Missouri*;—part of that of the *Mississippi* (northwards), and of the tribes of Indians residing near the *Ouisconsing* and *Illinois* rivers, to this village. In *St. Louis* are 120 houses, mostly built of stone. They are large and commodious. This village has 800 inhabitants, chiefly French;—some of them have had a liberal education, are polite, and hospitable. They have about 150 negroes, and large stocks of black cattle, etc.

"Twelve miles below, or southerly of *Fort Chartres*, on the western bank of the *Mississippi*, and nearly opposite to the village of *Kaskaskias*, is the village of *St. Genevieve*, or *Missire*. It contains upwards of 100 houses, and 460 inhabitants, besides negroes. This and *St. Louis* are all the villages that are upon the western or Spanish side of the *Mississippi*.

“Four miles below St. Genevieve (on the western bank of the Mississippi), at the mouth of a creek, is a hamlet, called the Saline. Here all the salt is made, which is used in the Illinois country, from a salt spring that is at this place.

“In the several villages on the Mississippi, which I have just described, there were, so long ago as the year 1771, twelve hundred and seventy-three fencible men.

“The Ridge which forms the eastern bank of the Mississippi, above the Missouri River, continues northerly to the Illinois River, and then directs its course along the eastern side of that river, for about 220 miles, when it declines in gentle slopes, and ends in extensive rich savannahs. On the top of this ridge, at the mouth of the Illinois River, is an agreeable and commanding situation for a fort, and though the ridge is high and steep (about 130 feet high), and rather difficult to ascend, yet when ascended, it affords a most delightful prospect.—The Mississippi is distinctly seen from its summit for more than twenty miles, as are the beautiful meanderings of the Illinois River for many leagues;—next a level, fruitful meadow presents itself, of at least one hundred miles of circuit on the western side of the Mississippi, watered by several lakes, and shaded by small groves or copses of trees, scattered in different part of it, and then the eye with rapture surveys, as well the high lands bordering upon the river Missouri, as those at a greater distance up the Mississippi.—In fine, this charming ridge is covered with excellent grass, large oak, walnut trees, etc., and at the distance of about nine miles from the Mississippi, up the Illinois River, are seen many large savannahs, or meadows abounding in buffalo, deer, etc.

“In ascending the Mississippi, Cape au Gres particularly attracted my attention.—It is about eight leagues

above the Illinois River, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, and continues above five leagues on that river. There is a gradual descent back to delightful meadows, and to beautiful and fertile uplands, watered by several rivulets, which fall into the Illinois River between thirty and forty miles from its entrance into the Mississippi, and into the latter at Cape au Gres. The distance from the Mississippi to the River Illinois across the country, is lessened or increased, according to the windings of the former river;—the smallest distance is at Cape au Gres, and there it is between four and five miles. The lands in this intermediate space between the above two rivers are rich, almost beyond parallel, covered with large oaks, walnut, etc., and not a stone is to be seen, except upon the sides of the river.—It is even acknowledged by the French inhabitants, that if settlements were only begun at Cape au Gres, those upon the Spanish side of the Mississippi would be abandoned, as the former would excite a constant succession of settlers, and intercept all the trade of the upper Mississippi.

“The Illinois River furnishes a communication with Lake Michigan, by the Chicago River, and by two portages between the latter and the Illinois River; the longest of which does not exceed four miles.

“The Illinois country is in general of a superior soil to any other part of North America that I have seen. It produces fine oak, hickory, cedar, mulberry trees, etc., some dying roots and medical plants;—hops and excellent wild grapes, and in the year 1769, one hundred and ten hogsheads of well-tasted and strong wine were made by the French settlers from these grapes,—a large quantity of sugar is also annually made from the juice of the maple tree; and as the mulberry trees are strong and numerous, I presume the making of silk will employ the attention and



industry of the settlers, when the country is more inhabited than it is at present, and especially as the winters are much more moderate, and favourable for the breed of silk worms, than they are in many of the sea coast provinces.—Indigo may likewise be successfully cultivated (but not more than two cuttings in a year) ; wheat, peas, and Indian corn thrive as well, as does every sort of grain and pulse, that is produced in any of the old colonies. Great quantities of tobacco are also yearly raised by the inhabitants of the Illinois, both for their own consumption, and that of the Indians; but little has hitherto been exported to Europe. Hemp grows spontaneously, and is of a good texture; its common height is ten feet, and its thickness three inches (the latter reckoned within about a foot of the root), and with little labour any quantity may be cultivated. Flax seed has hitherto been only raised in small quantities. There has, however, been enough produced to show that it may be sown to the greatest advantage. Apples, pears, peaches, and all other European fruits, succeed admirably. Iron, copper, and lead mines, as also salt springs, have been discovered in different parts of this territory. The two latter are worked on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, with considerable advantage to their owners. There is plenty of fish in the rivers, particularly cat, carp, and perch, of an uncommon size.—Savannahs, or natural meadows, are both numerous and extensive; yielding excellent grass, and feeding great herds of buffaloe, deer, etc.—ducks, teal, geese, swans, cranes, pelicans, turkies, pheasants, partridges, etc., such as are seen in the sea coast colonies are in the greatest variety and abundance.—In short, every thing that reasonable mind can desire is to be found, or may, with little pains, be produced here.

“Niagara Fort is a most important post. It secures a greater number of communications through a larger coun-

try than probably any other pass in interior America;—it stands at the entrance of a strait, by which Lake Ontario is joined to Lake Erie, and the latter is connected with the three great lakes, Huron, Michigan, and Superior. About nine miles above Fort Niagara the carrying place begins. It is occasioned by the stupendous cataract of that name. The quantity of water which tumbles over this fall is unparalleled in America;—its height is not less than 137 feet. This fall would interrupt the communication between the Lakes Ontario and Erie, if a road was not made up the hilly country that borders upon the strait. This road extends to a small post eighteen miles from Fort Niagara. Here the traveller embarks in a battoe or canoe, and proceeds eighteen miles to a small fort at Lake Erie. It may be proper also to add, that at the end of the first two miles, in the last-mentioned distance of eighteen miles, the stream of the river is divided by a large island, above nine miles in length; and at the upper end of it, about a mile from Lake Erie, are three or four islands, not far from each other;—these islands, by interrupting and confining the waters discharged from the lake, greatly increase the rapidity of the stream; which indeed is so violent, that the stiffest gale is scarcely sufficient to enable a large vessel to stem it; but is successfully resisted in small battoes, or canoes, that are rowed near the shore.

“Lake Erie is about 225 miles in length, and upon a medium about forty miles in breadth. It affords a good navigation for shipping of any burthen. The coast, on both sides of the lake, is generally favourable for the passage of battoes and canoes. Its banks in many places have a flat sandy shore, particularly to the eastward of the peninsula, called Long Point, which extends into the lake, in a south-eastern direction, for upwards of eighteen miles, and is more than five miles wide in the broadest part; but

the isthmus, by which it joins the continent, is scarcely 200 yards wide. The peninsula is composed of sand, and is very convenient to haul boats out of the surf upon (as is almost every other part of the shore) when the lake is too rough for rowing or sailing; yet there are some places where, in boisterous weather (on account of their great perpendicular height), it would be dangerous to approach, and impossible to land.

“Lake Erie has a great variety of fine fish, such as sturgeon, eel, white fish, trout, perch, etc.

“The country, northward of this lake, is in many parts swelled with moderate hills, but no high mountains. The climate is temperate, and the air healthful. The lands are well timbered (but not generally so rich as those upon the southern side of the lake), and for a considerable distance from it, and for several miles eastward of Cayahoga River, they appear quite level and extremely fertile; and except where extensive savannahs, or natural meadows intervene, are covered with large oaks, walnut, ash, hickory, mulberry, sassafras, etc., etc., and produce a great variety of shrubs and medicinal roots.—Here also is great plenty of buffalo, deer, turkies, partridges, etc.

“Fort Detroit is of an oblong figure, built with stockades, and advantageously situated, with one entire side commanding the river, called Detroit. This fort is near a mile in circumference, and encloses about one hundred houses, built in a regular manner with parallel streets, crossing each other at right angles. Its situation is delightful, and in the centre of a pleasant, fruitful country.

“The strait St. Clair (commonly called the Detroit River) is at its entrance more than three miles wide, but in ascending it, its width perceptibly diminishes, so that opposite to the fort (which is eighteen miles from Lake

Erie) it does not exceed half a mile in width. From thence to Lake St. Clair it widens to more than a mile. The channel of the strait is gentle, and wide, and deep enough for shipping of great burthen, although it is incommoded by several islands; one of which is more than seven miles in length. These islands are of a fertile soil, and from their situation afford a very agreeable appearance. For eight miles below, and the same distance above Fort Detroit, on both sides of the river, the country is divided into regular and well cultivated plantations, and from the contiguity of the farmers' houses to each other, they appear as two long extended villages. The inhabitants, who are mostly French, are about 2,000 in number; 500 of whom are as good marksmen, and as well accustomed to the woods, as the Indian natives themselves. They raise large stocks of black cattle, and great quantities of corn, which they grind by windmills, and manufacture into excellent flour.—The chief trade of Detroit consists in a barter of coarse European goods with the natives for furs, deer skins, tallow, etc., etc.

“The rout from Lake St. Clair to Lake Huron, is up a strait or river, about 400 yards wide. This river derives itself from Lake Huron, and at the distance of thirty-three miles loses itself in Lake St. Clair. It is in general rapid, but particularly so near its course;—its channel, and also that of Lake St. Clair, are sufficiently deep for shipping of very considerable burthen. This strait has several mouths, and the lands lying between them are fine meadows. The country on both sides of it, for fifteen miles, has a very level appearance, but from thence to Lake Huron, it is in many places broken, and covered with white pines, oaks, maple, birch, and beech.”

THOUGHTS ON THE DURATION OF THE AMERICAN COMMON-  
WEALTH

There is a greater probability that the duration of the American commonwealth will be longer than any empire that has hitherto existed. For it is a truth, universally admitted, that all the advantages which ever attended any of the monarchies in the old world, all center in the new; together with many others, which they never enjoy. The four great empires, and the dominions of Charlemaign, and the Turks, all rose by conquests; none by the arts of peace. On the contrary, the territory of the United States has been planted and reared by a union of liberty, good conduct, and all the comforts of domestic virtue.

All the great monarchies were formed by the conquest of kingdoms, different in arts, manners, language, temper, or religion, from the conquerors; so that the union, though in some cases very strong, was never the real and intimate connection of the same people; and this circumstance principally accelerated their ruin, and was absolutely the cause of it in some.

This will be very different in the Americans. They will, in their greatest extent and population, be one and the same people; the same in language, religion, laws, manners, tempers, and pursuits; for the small variation in some districts, owing to the settlement of Germans, is an exception so very slight, that in a few ages it will be unknown.

The Assyrian and Roman empires were of very slow growth, and therefore lasted the longest; but still their increase was by conquest, and the union of dissonant parts. The Persian and Macedonian monarchies were soon founded and presently overturned; the former not lasting so long as the Assyrian, nor a sixth of the duration of the Roman; and to the Macedonian, it lasted but six years.

This advantage of a slow growth is strong in favour of the Americans; the wonderful increase of their numbers is the natural effect of plenty of land, a good climate, and a mild and beneficent government, in which corruption and tyranny are wholly unknown. Some centuries are already past since their first settlement, and many more will pass before their power appears in its full splendour; but the quickness of a growth that is entirely natural will carry with it no marks of decay, being entirely different from monarchies founded by force of arms. The Roman empire perished by the hands of northern barbarians, whom the masters of the world disdained to conquer; it will not be so with the Americans, they spread gradually over the whole continent, insomuch that two hundred years hence there probably will be nobody but themselves in the whole northern continent; from whence therefore should their Goths and Vandals come? Nor can they ever have any thing to fear from the south; first, because that country will never be populous, owing to the possession of mines; secondly, there are several nations and languages planted and remaining in it; thirdly, the most considerable part of it lies in the torrid zone; a region that never yet sent forth nations of conquerors.

In extent the habitable parts of North America exceed that of any of the four empires, and consequently can feed and maintain a people much more numerous than the Assyrians or the Romans. The situation of the region is so advantageous that it leaves nothing to be wished for; it can have no neighbours from whom there is a possibility of attack or molestation; it will possess all the solid advantages of the Chinese empire without the fatal neighbourhood of the Tartars.

It will have further the singular felicity of all the advantages of an island, that is, a freedom from the attacks

of others, and too many difficulties, with too great a distance, to engage in the enterprises that heretofore proved the ruin of other monarchies.

The soil, the climate, production, and face of the continent, is formed by nature for a great, independent, and permanent government; fill it with people who will of themselves, of course, possess all sorts of manufactures, and you will find it yielding every necessary and convenience of life. Such a vast tract of country, possessing such singular advantages, becoming inhabited by one people, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, and having the same manners; attaining a population equal to that of the greatest empire; sprung from an active and industrious nation, who has transfused into them their own industry and spirit, and seen them worthy of their original; inhabiting a soil not dangerously fertile, nor a clime generally conducive to effeminacy; accustomed to commerce; such people must found a commonwealth as indissoluble as humanity will allow. Suffice it for England, that she will have been the origin of a commonwealth greater and more durable than any former monarchy; that her language and her manners will flourish among a people who will one day become a splendid spectacle in the vast eye of the universe. This flattering idea of immortality no other nation can hope to attain.

And here let me make an observation that should animate the authors in the English language with an ardour that cannot be infused into those of any other nation; it is the pleasing idea of living among so great a people, through almost a perpetuity of fame, and under almost an impossibility of becoming, like the Greek and Latin tongues, dead; known only by the learned. Increasing time will bring increasing readers, until their names become repeated with pleasure by above an hundred millions of people!

## CONTENTS

I.	From M. Claviere to M. Warville, hinting a Plan of Observation on the Political, Civil, and Military Existence of the United States - - - - -	33
II.	Soil, Productions, Emigrations - - -	37
III.	Plan of each Settlement to be formed in the United States - - - - -	40
IV.	Enquiries on the best Mode of Emigrating - - - - -	47
V.	On the Purchase of Lands, and the American Funds - - - - -	48
VI.	Method of Observations to be Pursued in these Travels - - - - -	49
I.	From M. Warville to M. Claviere, from Havre de Grace - - - - -	54
II.	Observations on Boston - - - - -	59
III.	Journey from Boston to New York through Connecticut - - - - -	76
IV.	From Boston to New York by Providence - - - - -	89
V.	On New York - - - - -	94
VI.	Journey from New York to Philadelphia - - - - -	106
VII.	Visit to Burlington, and to the House of M. Franklin - - - - -	112
VIII.	Visit to the Farm of a Quaker - - -	113
IX.	Visit from Warner Mifflin - - - - -	116
X.	Funeral of a Quaker. A Quaker Meeting - - - - -	118
XI.	The Bettering-House - - - - -	123



XII.	Hospital for Lunaticks - - - - -	128
XIII.	On Benjamin Franklin - - - - -	130
XIV.	Steam Boat. Reflexions on the Character of the Americans and the English -	142
XV.	The Agricultural Society. The Library	144
XVI.	On the Market of Philadelphia - - -	146
XVII.	On the General Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Farm of Mr. L. - - -	148
XVIII.	Journey of M. Saugrain to the Ohio -	154
XIX.	The School for Blacks at Philadelphia	157
XX.	The Endeavours used to Abolish Slavery - - - - -	161
XXI.	The Laws made in Different States for the Abolition of Slavery - - - - -	164
XXII.	General State of the Blacks in the United States. Their Manners and Character, etc. - - - - -	169
	Addition to the Preceeding Letter, on the Labours of the Different Societies in Favour of the Blacks - - - - -	176
XXIII.	On Substituting the Sugar of Maple to the Sugar of Cane; and its Consequences on the Fate of the Blacks - -	180
XXIV.	A Project for Re-transporting the Blacks to Africa - - - - -	183
XXV.	Philadelphia, its Building, Police, Manners, etc. - - - - -	186
XXVI.	On the Progress of Clearing and Cultivating Land - - - - -	197
XXVII.	Climate of Philadelphia; its Diseases, etc. - - - - -	202
XXVIII.	The Diseases Most Common in the United States - - - - -	206

XXIX.	Longevity—Calculations on the Probabilities of Life in the United States— Their Population - - - - -	210
XXX.	Prisons in Philadelphia, and Prisons in General - - - - -	220
XXXI.	On the Quakers; Their Private Morals, Their Manners, Customs, etc. - - -	223
XXXII.	On the Reproaches Cast Upon the Quakers by Different Writers - - -	231
XXXIII.	Religious Principles of the Quakers -	238
XXXIV.	Political Principles of the Quakers. Their Refusal to Take Arms, Pay Taxes, for War - - - - -	245
XXXV.	Journey to Mount Vernon - - - - -	250
XXXVI.	General Observations on Maryland and Virginia - - - - -	256
XXXVII.	The Tobacco, and Tobacco Notes of Virginia - - - - -	259
XXXVIII.	The Valley of Shenadore - - - - -	263
XXXIX.	Journey from Boston to Portsmouth -	265
XL.	The Debt of the United States - - -	269
XLI.	Importations into the United States -	272
XLII.	Exportations from the United States -	275
XLIII.	Their Trade to the East Indies, and Their Navigation in General - - -	277
XLIV.	The Western Territory, and the Dif- ferent Settlements in it - - - - -	280
	Duration of the American Continent	313

# TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA

In the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782

By the  
MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX

One of the forty members of the French Academy  
and Major General in the French Army, serving  
under the Count De Rochambeau

Translated from the French by an English Gentleman  
who resided in America at that period



## INTRODUCTORY

As a "companion piece" to the wonderful story of Brissot de Warville none seemed more fitting to the publisher than "Travels in North America" by the Marquis De Chastellux. A long prefatory article is not necessary as the story of his tour speaks for itself. It was not thought necessary to publish these two volumes entire but a careful and extended review has been made and such parts as seemed of most interest taken with considerable fulness. Frances Jean Chastellux was both a military and literary genius of much note. He was one of the forty members of the French Academy, which he entered in 1775, and was Major General in the French army, serving under the Count De Rochambeau. He was born in Paris in 1734 and died in 1788. He was connected with Voltaire in Cyclopedic writings and published numerous works on many different subjects, among the best being his trip to America.

It will be noted that his travels in this country, described in his journals, began in the fall of 1780 and run well along into the autumn of 1782; the date of his later journeys being mentioned in the "Advertisment of the French Printer," or the preface, and also at the close of one or two of his articles.

THE PUBLISHER.



## ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE FRENCH PRINTER

The Public have been long informed that the Marquis de Chastellux had written Journals of his Travels in North America, and they seem to have wished to see those Journals more generally diffused. The Author, who had arranged them solely for himself and for his friends, has constantly refused to make them public until this moment. The first and most considerable, in fact, were printed in America; but only twenty-four impressions were struck off, and this with no other view than to avoid the multiplying of copies, which were become indispensably necessary, in a country and at a time when there was very little hope of any packets reaching Europe, but by the means of duplicates. Besides that, he thought proper to avail himself of the small printing press on board the squadron at Rhode Island. Of these twenty-four impressions, not above ten or twelve reached Europe, and the Author had addressed them all to persons on whom he could rely, and whom he had requested not to suffer any copies to be taken. The curiosity, however, which everything respecting America at that time inspired, excited much anxiety to read them. They passed successively through a great many hands, and there is reason to believe that the readers have not all been equally scrupulous; nor can it even be doubted that there exist some manuscript copies, which being hastily executed, may be presumed to be incorrect.

In the spring of 1782, the Marquis de Chastellux made a journey into Upper Virginia; and, in the autumn of the same year, another into the States of Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and the back part of Pennsylvania. According to custom, he wrote journals of these expeditions; but, being on his return to Europe, he reserved them to

himself. These therefore are known only to a few friends, to whom he lent them; for he invariably denied the request of many persons, and particularly our own, to empower us to lay them before the Public. One of his friends however, who has a very extensive correspondence in foreign countries, having pressed him much to furnish him with at least a few detached extracts from these journals, for the purpose of inserting them in a periodical work printed at Gotha, the object of which is to collect such works as have not been made public, he consented; and, during a whole year, there appeared in each number of this Journal a few pages taken here and there from those of the Marquis de Chastellux. These extracts were not in a regular series, and were indifferently taken from the first and second parts of the Travels. The Author had used this precaution, to prevent the foreign booksellers from collecting them, and imposing them on the public as a complete work. Experience has proved the insufficiency of this precaution. A printer of Cassel, without any scruple, has collected these detached extracts, and without announcing that they had no coherency, has printed them under the title of *Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier de Chastellux*, the name the author bore two years ago.

The publication of a work so mutilated and unmethodical, and which the Marquis de Chastellux by no means expected, so far from flattering, could not but be displeasing to him. We deemed this a proper opportunity for renewing our instances to him, and have, in consequence, obtained his original manuscript, to which he has been pleased to annex the charts and plans we have made use of. We have lost no time in giving it to the public, and have exerted the utmost pains to render it, from the execution, worthy of the importance of the subject, and of the name and reputation of the Author.



[Marquis de Chastellux began his travels described herein, from his landing at Newport. He visited Providence, describes intermediate points to Hartford, and the sections taken from his work begin at the following point:]

The state of Vermont is a vast country, situated to the eastward of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and to the north of Connecticut, between the river of that name, and Hudson's river. As it is lately peopled, and has always been an object of contention between the states of New York, and New Hampshire, there is, properly speaking, no established government. Ethan Allen celebrated for the expedition he undertook in 1775 against Ticonderoga, of his own accord, and without any other aid than that of the volunteers who followed him, has made himself the chief of that country. He has formed there an assembly of representatives; this assembly grants lands, and the country is governed by its own laws, without having any connection with Congress. The inhabitants however are not the less enemies of the English; but under the pretext that they form the frontier against Canada, and are obliged to guard it, they furnish no contingent to the expences of the war. They had long no other name than that of Green Mountain boys, but thinking this too ignoble an appellation for their new destiny, they translated Green Mountain into French; which made Verd Mont, and by corruption Vermont. It remains to be seen whether it is by corruption also that this country has assumed the title of the state of Vermont.

About four in the evening, I arrived at Hartford ferry, after travelling over a very inconvenient road, a great part of which forms a narrow causeway through a marshy wood. We pass this ferry, like all the others in America,

in a flat boat with oars. I found the inns at Hartford so full that it was impossible to procure lodging. The four eastern states, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were then holding their assemblies in that town. These four states have long maintained a particular connection with each other, and they meet together by deputies, sometimes in one state, sometimes in another. Each legislature sends deputies. In a circumstance, so uncommon in America, as room being wanted for men collected together, Colonel Wadsworth's house offered me a most agreeable asylum; I lodged with him, as well as the Duke de Lauzun, who had passed me on the road. Mr. Dumas, who belonged to the staff of the army, and was then attached to the Duke de Lauzun, Mr. Lynch and Mr. de Montesquieu were well accommodated in the neighbourhood.

Colonel Wadsworth is about two and thirty, very tall and well made, and has a noble as well as agreeable countenance. He lived formerly on Long Island; and from his infancy was engaged in commerce and navigation; he had already made several voyages to the Coast of Guinea and the West Indies, when according to the American expression, the present contestation began. He then served in the army, and was in several actions; but General Washington discovering that his talents might be still usefully employed, made him Commissary of Provisions. This is a military post in America, and those who fill it, are as much respected as the first officer of the line. The Commissary General is charged with all the purchases, and the Quarter Master with all the conveyances; it is the latter who marks out the ground, establishes the magazines, provides carriages, and distributes the rations; it is also on his receipts and orders that the Paymasters make their payments; he is, in short, properly speaking, a Military

Intendant, while the Commissary General may be compared to a Munitionnaire with us, who should undertake to provide forage as well as provisions. I think this arrangement as good as ours, though these departments have not been exempt from abuses, and even blame in the course of the present war; but it must be observed, that whenever the government wants political force, and the treasury is without money, the administration of affairs is always ruinous, and often culpable. This reflection alone will afford sufficient subject for the eulogium of Col. Wadsworth, when it is known that throughout all America, there is not one voice against him, and that his name is never pronounced without the homage due to his talents and his probity. The particular confidence of General Washington puts the seal upon his merit. The Marquis de la Fayette judged extremely well therefore in getting Mr. de Corny to employ him, in furnishing the provisions necessary for the French troops which were then expected. As soon as they were disembarked at Rhode Island, he again proposed him as the most proper man in the world to assist them in all their wants, but those who had the direction of the army did not at that time think proper to employ him. They even conceived some suspicions of him, from false ideas, and eagerly substituted for a Commissary of understanding and reputation, undertakers, without fortune, and without character; who promised every thing, performed nothing, and soon threw our affairs into confusion; first by augmenting the price of articles by purchases hastily made, and frequently in opposition one to another, and finally by throwing into circulation, and offering at a great discount, the bills of exchange they had engaged to receive for two-thirds of all their payments. These bargains and contracts succeeded eventually so ill, that we were obliged, but too late, to have recourse to Mr.

Wadsworth, who resumed the affairs with as much nobleness as he had quitted them; always as superior to inquiries by his character, as he is by his talents to the innumerable obstacles that surround him.

Another interesting personage was then at Hartford, and I went to pay him a visit; this was Governor Trumbull; Governor, by excellence, for he has been so these fifteen years, having been always rechosen at the end of every two years, and equally possessing the public esteem under the English government, and under that of the Congress. He is seventy years old; his whole life is consecrated to business, which he passionately loves, whether important or not, or rather, with respect to him, there is none of the latter description. He has all the simplicity in his dress, all the importance, and even deportment becoming the great magistrate of a small republic. He brought to my mind the burgomasters of Holland in the time of the Heinsiuses and the Barnevelts. I had been informed that he was employed in a history of the present revolution, and I was curious to read this work; I told him that I hoped to see him on my return at Lebanon (his place of abode), and that I should then request permission to look over his manuscript; but he assured me that he had only written the introduction, which he had addressed to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, our ambassador. I procured it during my stay at Philadelphia, but it is only an historical recapitulation, rather superficial, and by no means free from partiality in the manner of representing the events of the war. The only interesting fact I found in it, was the journal of Governor Winthrop, in the year 1670, where he says, that the members of the council of Massachusetts, being advised by their friends in London to address themselves to the parliament, to whom the King then left a great deal of authority, as the best means of obtaining the

redress of some grievances, the council, after mature deliberation, thought proper to decline the proposal, reflecting, that if they put themselves once under the protection of parliament, they should be obliged to submit to all the laws that assembly might impose, whether on the nation in general, or on the colonies in particular. Now, nothing can more strongly prove, that these colonies, even in the very origin, never acknowledged the authority of parliament, nor imagined they could be bound by laws of their making.

The 17th, in the morning, [apparently Nov. 17, 1780—Editor] I parted with regret from my host and the Duke de Lauzun; but it was not till after breakfast, for it is a thing unheard of in America to set off without breakfast. By this indispensable delay I had an opportunity of making acquaintance with General Parsons. He appeared to me a sensible man, and he is so esteemed in his country; but he has had little opportunity of displaying great military talents; he was, in fact, what one must never be, in war, or in any thing, unfortunate. His outset was on Long Island, where he was taken, and he has since been in all the bad affairs, so that he is better known for his capacity in business, than for the share he has had in the events of the war.

The road I had to travel becoming henceforth difficult and rather desert, it was determined that I should not exceed ten miles that day, that I might meet with good quarters; and get my horses in order for the next day's journey. The place I was to stop at was Farmington. Mr. Wadsworth, fearing I should not find a good inn there, gave me a letter of recommendation to one of his relations of the name of Lewis, where he assured me I should be well received, without incommoding any person, and without straightening myself, for that I should pay my

reckoning as at an inn. In fact, when the taverns are bad, or that they are so situated as not to suit the convenience of the traveller, it is the custom in America, to ask for quarters of some individual at his ease, who can spare room in his house for you, and can give stabling for your horses; the traveller and his host then converse together on equal terms; but he is paid merely as an inn-keeper.

The town of Hartford does not merit any attention either in travelling through, or in speaking of it. It consists of a very long street, parallel with the river; it is pretty regular and connected, that is, the houses are not distant from each other. But it has many appendages; everything is Hartford six leagues round; but East Hartford, West Hartford, and New Hartford are distinct towns, though composed of houses scattered through the country. I have already mentioned what constitutes a town; it is to have one or two meetings, particular assemblies, and the right of sending deputies to the general assembly. These townships may be compared to the curiae of the Romans. From a very lofty plain on the road to Farmington, one discovers not only all the Hartfords, but all that part of the continent watered by the river of that name, situated between the eastern and western chains of mountains. This place is called Rocky-hill. The houses of West Hartford, frequently dispersed, and sometimes grouped together, and every where adorned with trees and meadows, form of the road to Farmington such a garden, in the English style, as it would be difficult for art to imitate. Their inhabitants add some industry likewise to their rich culture; some common cloths and other woollen stuffs are fabricated here, but of a good wear, and sufficient to clothe the people who live in the country, or in any other town than Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. I went into a house where they were preparing and dying the

cloth. This cloth is made by the people of the country, and is then sent to these little manufactories, where they are dressed, pressed, and dyed for two shillings, lawful money, per yard, which makes about thirty-five sols French, or seventeen-pence English, the Connecticut pound being equal to something more than three dollars. I reached Farmington at three in the afternoon. It is a pretty little town, with a handsome meeting-house, and fifty houses collected, all neat and well built. It is situated on the declivity of the mountains; the river which bears the same name runs at the foot of them, and turns towards the north, without shewing itself; but the view of the valley is notwithstanding very agreeable. After dismounting, I took advantage of the good weather, to take a walk in the streets, or rather in the highways. I saw through the windows of a house that they were working at some trade; I entered, and found them making a sort of camblet, as well as another woollen stuff with blue and white stripes for women's dress; these stuffs are sold at three shillings and six-pence the yard lawful money, or about two and twenty-pence English. The sons and grandsons of the family were at work; one workman can easily make five yards a day. The prime cost of the materials being only one shilling currency, the day's work may amount from ten to twelve. On my return from this walk I found an excellent dinner prepared for me, without my having said a word to the family. After dinner, about the close of the day, Mr. Lewis, who had been abroad on his affairs during a part of the day, came into the parlour where I was, seated himself by the fire, lighted his pipe, and entered into conversation with me. I found him an active and intelligent man, well acquainted with public affairs, and with his own; he carried on a trade of cattle, like all the farmers of Connecticut; he was then employed

in furnishing provisions for the army, and was principally taken up in slaughtering, and salting cattle for the state of Connecticut to be sent to Fish-kill. For each state is obliged to furnish not only money, but other articles for the army; those to the eastward supply it with cattle, rum, and salt; and those to the westward with flour and forage. Mr. Lewis has borne arms also for his country; he was at the affaris of Long Island and Saratoga, of which he gave me an exact account; in the last he served as a volunteer. At tea time Mrs. Lewis and her sister-in-law gave us their company. Mrs. Lewis had just recovered from lying-in, and had her child in her arms; she is near thirty, with a very agreeable face, and so amiable, and so polite a carriage, as to present a picture of decency itself, in every country in the world. The conversation was interestingly supported the whole evening. The family retired at nine o'clock; I did not see them in the morning, and paid my bill to the servants; it was neither dear nor cheap, but the just price of everything, regulated without interest, and without compliments.

I got on horseback at eight o'clock on the 18th, and at the distance of a mile fell in with the river of Farmington, along which I rode for some time. There was nothing interesting in this part of my journey, except that having fired my pistol at a jay, to my great astonishment the bird fell. This had been for many days an object of curiosity with me, and it is really a most beautiful creature. It is quite blue, but it unites all the various shades of that colour so as to surpass the invention of art, and be very difficult of imitation. I must remark by the bye, that the Americans call it only by the name of the blue-bird, though it is a real jay; but the Americans are far from being successful in enriching their native language. On every thing which wanted an English name, they have bestowed



only a simple descriptive one; the jay is the blue bird, the cardinal, the red bird; every water bird is a duck, from the teal to the canard *dé dois*, and to the large black duck which we have not in Europe. They call them, red ducks, black ducks, wood ducks. It is the same with respect to their trees; the pine, the cypresses, the firs, are all comprehended under the general name of pine-trees; and if the people characterize any particular tree, it is from the use to which it is applied, as the wall-nut, from its serving to the construction of wooden houses. I could cite many other examples, but it is sufficient to observe, that this poverty of language proves how much men's attention has been employed in objects of utility, and how much at the same time it has been circumscribed by the only prevailing interest, the desire of augmenting wealth, rather by dint of labour, than by industry. But to return to my jay; I resolved to make a trophy of it, in the manner of the savages, by scalping it of its skin and feathers, and content with my victory, I pursued my journey, which soon brought me amidst the steepest and most difficult mountains I had yet seen. They are covered with woods as old as the creation, but which do not differ from ours. These hills, heaped confusedly one upon another, oblige you to be continually mounting and descending, without your being able to distinguish, in this wild region, the summit, which rising above the rest, announces to you a conclusion to your labours. This disorder of Nature reminded me of the lessons of him whom she had chosen for her confident and interpreter. The vision of Mr. de Buffon appeared to me in these ancient deserts. He seemed to be in his proper element, and to point out to me, under a slight crust formed by the destruction of vegetables, the inequality of a globe of glass, which has cooled after a long fusion. The waters, said he, have done nothing here; look

around you, you will not find a single calcareous stone; everything is quartz, granite, or flint. I made experiments on the stones with aqua fortis, and I could not help concluding, what has not obtained sufficient credit in Europe, not only that he speaks well, but that is always in the right.

While I was meditating on the great process of Nature, which employs fifty thousand years in rendering the earth habitable, a new spectacle, well calculated as a contrast to those which I had been contemplating, fixed my attention, and excited my curiosity; this was the work of a single man, who in the space of a year had cut down several arpents of wood, and had built himself a house in the middle of a pretty extensive territory he had already cleared. I saw, for the first time, what I have since observed a hundred times; for, in fact, whatever mountains I have climbed, whatever forests I have traversed, whatever by-paths I have followed, I have never travelled three miles without meeting with a new settlement, either beginning to take form, or already in cultivation. The following is the manner of proceeding in these improvements, or new settlements. Any man who is able to procure a capital of five or six livres of our money, or about twenty-five pounds sterling, and who has strength and inclination to work, may go into the woods and purchase a portion of one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres of land, which seldom costs him more than a dollar or four shillings and six-pence an acre, a small part of which only he pays in ready money. There he conducts a cow, some pigs, or a full sow, and two different horses which do not cost him more than four guineas each. To these precautions he adds that of having a provision of flour and cyder. Provided with this first capital, he begins by felling all the smaller trees, and some strong branches of the large ones; these he makes use of as fences to the first field he wishes

to clear; he next boldly attacks those immense oaks, or pines, which one would take for the ancient lords of the territory he is usurping; he strips them of their bark, or lays them open all round with his axe. These trees mortally wounded, are the next spring robbed of their honors; their leaves no longer spring, their branches fall, and their trunk becomes a hideous skelton. This trunk still seems to brave the efforts of the new colonist; but where there are the smallest chinks or crevices, it is surrounded by fire, and the flames consume what the iron was unable to destroy. But it is enough for the small trees to be felled, and the great ones to lose their sap. This object completed, the ground is cleared; the air and the sun begin to operate upon that earth which is wholly formed of rotten vegetables, and teems with the latent principles of production. The grass grows rapidly; there is pasturage for the cattle the very first year; after which they are left to increase, or fresh ones are brought, and they are employed in tilling a piece of ground which yields the enormous increase of twenty or thirty fold. The next year the same course is repeated; when, at the end of two years, the planter has wherewithal to subsist, and even to send some articles to market; at the end of four or five years, he completes the payment of his land, and finds himself a comfortable planter. Then his dwelling which at first was no better than a large hut formed in a square of the trunks of trees, placed one upon another, with the intervals filled by mud, changes into a handsome wooden house, where he contrives more convenient, and certainly much cleaner apartments than those in the greatest part of our small towns. This is the work of three weeks or a month. His first habitation, that of eight and forty hours. I shall be asked, perhaps, how one man, or one family can be so quickly lodged? I answer, that in America a man is never

alone, never an isolated being. The neighbours, for they are everywhere to be found, make it a point of hospitality, to aid the new farmer. A cask of cyder drank in common, and with gaiety, or a gallon of rum, are the only recompense for these services. Such are the means by which North-America, which one hundred years ago was nothing but a vast forest, is peopled with three millions of inhabitants; and such is the immense, and certain benefit of agriculture, that notwithstanding the war, it not only maintains itself wherever it has been established, but it extends to places which seems the least favourable to its introduction. Four years ago one might have travelled ten miles in the woods I traversed, without seeing a single habitation.

Harrington is the first township I met with on my road. This place is sixteen miles from Farmington, and eight from Litchfield. Four miles before we come to this last town, we pass a wooden bridge over the river of Waterbury; this river is pretty large, but not navigable. Litchfield, or the Meeting-house of Litchfield, is situated on a large plain more elevated than the surrounding heights; about fifty houses pretty near each other, with a large square, or rather area, in the middle, announces the progress of the town, which is already the county town; for America is divided into districts, called Counties, in some Provinces, as in England. It is in the capital of these counties that the court of sessions is held where the Sheriff presides, and where the Chief Judges come every four months to decide civil and criminal affairs. Half a mile on this side of Litchfield, I remarked, on the right, a barrack, surrounded by palisades, which appeared to me like a guard-house; I approached it, and saw in this small inclosure ten pieces of brass cannon, a mortar, and a swivel. This I learnt was a part of Burgoyne's artillery, which fell

to the share of the state of Connecticut, and was kept in this place as the most conveniently situated for the army, and at the same time the least exposed to the incursions of the English.

It was four o'clock, and the weather very bad, when I came near the house of a Mr. Seymour, to whom Mr. Lewis had given me a letter, assuring me that I should find better accommodations than at the taverns; but Mr. Lynch, who had gone on a little before to make inquiries, informed me, that Mr. Seymour was from home, and that from all appearance his wife would be much embarrassed to receive us. The American women, in fact, are very little accustomed to give themselves trouble, either of mind or body; the care of their children, that of making tea, and seeing the house kept clean, constitutes the whole of their domestic province. I determined therefore to go straight to the tavern, where I was still unlucky enough not to find Mr. Philips, the landlord; so that I was received, at least, with indifference, which often happens in the inns in America, when they are not in much frequented situations; travellers are there considered as giving them more trouble than money. The reason of this is, that the inn-keepers are all of them cultivators, at their ease, who do not stand in need of this slight profit; the greatest number of those who follow this profession are even compelled to it by the laws of the country, which have wisely provided, that on all the great roads there shall be a public house at the end of every six miles, for the accommodation of travellers.

A still greater difficulty I had at Mrs. Philips's, was, to find room for nine horses I had with me. The Quarter-Master at length made them place some of them in the stable of a private person, and everything was arranged to my satisfaction, and that of my hostess. I cannot help remarking, that nothing can be more useful than such an

officer, as well for the service of the state, as for that of any traveller of distinction. I have already spoken of the functions of the Quarter-Master-General, but I did not mention that he names a Deputy Quarter-Master-General in each state, and that the latter, in his town, names an assistant in each district to act in his room. My horses and baggage were scarcely under cover, when a dreadful storm came on, which however, was in my favour, as it brought home Mr. Philips; everything now assumed a new face in the house, the pantry flew open, the negroes redoubled their activity, and we soon saw a supper preparing with the most favourable auspices. Mr. Philips is an Irishman, translated to America, where he has already made a fortune; he appears to be cunning and adroit; and is cautious in talking to strangers; in other respects, he is more gay than the Americans, and even given to irony; a turn of mind but little known in America, and for which they have no specific name, any more than for the different species of trees and birds. Mrs. Philips, now seconded by her husband, and more mistress of her work, soon resumed her natural serenity. She is of American birth, and a true Yankee, as her husband told us; her face is gentle and agreeable, and her manners correspond entirely with her features.

The 19th I left Litchfield between nine and ten in the morning, and pursued my journey through the mountains, partly on foot and partly on horseback; for having got into the habit of travelling from morning till night without stopping, I from time to time took pity on my horses, and spared them in those deserts which seemed formed for the roebuck rather than for carriages and laden horses. The name of the first town I came to, proclaims it to be of recent origin; it is called Washington. A new county being formed in the woods of Connecticut, the state has

bestowed on it this respectable name, the memory of which will indisputably exist much longer than the town intended to perpetuate it. There is another county of Washington in Virginia, belonging to the Protector of America; but its great distance from this new city prevents all possible inconvenience arising from the identity of name. This capital of a rising county has a Meeting-house, and seven or eight houses collected; it is in a beautiful situation, and the cultivation appears rich and well managed; a rivulet, which runs at the bottom of the valley, renders the meadows more fruitful than they generally are in mountainous countries. From hence to Litchfield, they reckon, seventeen miles; I had ten miles to go to reach Moorhouse's tavern, where I intended sleeping, but not taking the shortest road, I travelled at least twelve, and always among the mountains. That which I took brought me to a pretty considerable hamlet, called New Milford-Bordering-Skirt, or the confines of Milford county, and from thence into so deep and wild a valley, that I thought myself completely lost, until an opening in the wood made me perceive, first a meadow surrounded by fences, then a house, and soon after another, and at length a charming valley, with several considerable farms, covered with cattle. I soon crossed this spot, which belongs to the county of Kent, as well as the rivulet which flows through the middle of it, and after travelling three miles farther in the mountains, I reached the banks of the Housatonick, or the river of Stratford. It is unnecessary to remark that the first is the genuine name, that is, the name given it by the savages, the ancient inhabitants of the country. This river is not navigable, and is easily forded near Bull's iron works. We then turn to the left and pass along its banks; but if one is sensible to the beauties of Nature, if on seeing the paintings of Vernet and Robert, one has learnt to

admire its models, it is impossible not to be lost in admiration at the view of the charming landscape, formed by the combination of the forges, of the fall of water which seems to work them, and of the variegated prospect of trees and rocks, with which this picturesque scene is embellished. At the distance of a mile we again pass the same river on a wooden bridge; we soon meet with another called Ten-mile river, which falls into this, and which we follow for two or three miles, and then come in sight of several handsome houses, forming a part of the district called The Oblong. It is a long narrow slip of land, ceded by Connecticut to the state of New York, in exchange for some other territory. The inn I was going to is in the Oblong, but two miles farther on. It is kept by Colonel Moorhouse; for nothing is more common in America than to see an inn-keeper a Colonel; they are in general militia Colonels, chosen by the militia themselves, who seldom fail to entrust the command to the most esteemed, and most creditable citizens.

I pressed forward my horses, and hurried on to get the start of a traveller on horseback, who had joined me on the road, and who would have had the same right with myself to the lodgings, had we arrived together. I had the satisfaction, however, to see him pursue his journey; but soon learnt, with concern, that the little inn where I proposed to pass the night, was occupied by thirteen farmers, and two hundred and fifty oxen coming from New Hampshire. The oxen were the least inconvenient part of the company, as they were left to graze in a meadow hard by, without even a dog to guard them; but the farmers, their horses, and dogs, were in possession of the inn. They were conveying to the army a part of the contingent of provisions furnished by New Hampshire. This contingent is a sort of tax divided amongst all the inhabitants, on



some of whom the imposition amounts to one hundred and fifty, on others to one hundred, or eighty pounds of meat, according to their abilities; so that they agree amongst themselves to furnish a larger, or smaller sized ox, no matter which, as each animal is weighed. Their conveyance to the army is then entrusted to some farmers, and drovers. The farmers are allowed about a dollar a day, and their expences, as well as those of the cattle, are paid them on their return, according to the receipts they are obliged to produce from the inn-keepers where they have halted. The usual price is from three-pence to five-pence English per night for each ox, and in proportion at noon.

I informed myself of these particulars whilst my people were endeavouring to find me lodgings; but all the rooms, and all the beds were occupied by these farmers, and I was in the greatest distress, when a tall, fat man, the principal person amongst them, being informed who I was, came to me, and assured me, that neither he, nor his companions would ever suffer a French General Officer to want a bed, and that they would rather sleep on the floor; adding, that they were accustomed to it, and that it would be attended with no inconvenience. In reply I told them, I was a military man, and as much accustomed as themselves to make the earth my bed. We had long debates on this point of politesse; theirs was rustic, but more cordial and affecting than the best turned compliments. The result was, that I had a two-bedded room for myself and my Aides de Camp. But our acquaintance did not terminate there; after parting from each other, I to take some repose, they to continue drinking their grog and cyder, they came into my room. I was then employed in tracing my route by the map of the country; this map excited their curiosity. They saw there with surprise and satisfaction the places they had passed through. They asked me if

they were known in Europe, and if it was there I had bought my maps. On my assuring them that we knew America as well as the countries adjoining to us, they seemed much pleased; but their joy was without bounds, when they saw New Hampshire, their country, on the map. They called their companions, who were in the next room; and mine was soon filled with the strongest and most robust men I had hitherto seen in America. On my appearing struck with their size and stature, they told me that the inhabitants of New Hampshire were strong and vigorous, for which there were many reasons; that the air was excellent, the sole occupation was agriculture; and above all that their blood was unmix'd; this country being inhabited by ancient families who had emigrated from England. We parted good friends, touching, or rather shaking hands in the English fashion, and they assured me that they were very happy to have an opportunity, to shake hands with a French General.

The horse which carried my portmanteau, not travelling so fast as me, did not come up till the next morning, so that it was ten o'clock on the 20th of December, before I could get out. Three miles from Moorhouse's is a very high hill; we then descend, but not quite so much as we ascended; the road here is over elevated ground leaving large mountains on the left; the country is well cultivated, affording the prospect of several pretty farms, with some mills; and notwithstanding the war, Hopel township is building, inhabited chiefly by Dutch people, as well as the greatest part of the state of New York, which formerly belonged to the republic of Holland, who exchanged it for Surinam. My intention was to sleep five miles on this side of Fish-kill, at Colonel Griffin's tavern. I found him cutting and preparing wood for fences; he assured me his house was full, which was easy to be believed, for it was

very small. I continued my journey therefore, and reached Fish-kill about four o'clock. This town, in which there are not more than fifty houses in the space of two miles, has long been the principal depot of the American army. It is there they have placed their magazines, their hospitals, their workshops, etc., but all these form a town of themselves, composed of handsome large barracks, built in the wood at the foot of the mountains; for the Americans, like the Romans in many respects, have hardly any other winter quarters, than wooden towns, or barricaded camps, which may be compared to the *hiemalia* of the Romans.

As for the position of Fish-kill, that it was a post of great importance is evident from the campaign of 1777. It is clear that the plan of the English was to render themselves masters of the whole course of the North River, and thus to separate the Eastern and Western States. It was necessary there to secure a post on the river; West Point was made choice of as the most important to fortify, and Fish-kill as the place the best adopted to the establishment of the principal depot of provisions, ammunition, etc., these two positions are connected together. I shall soon speak of West Point, but I shall remark here, that Fish-kill has all the qualities necessary for a place of depot, for it is situated on the high road from Connecticut, and near the North River, and is protected at the same time by a chain of inaccessible mountains, which occupy a space of more than twenty miles between the Croton river and that of Fish-kill.

The approach of winter quarters, and the movement of troops occasioned by this circumstance, made lodgings very scarce; it was with difficulty I found any, but I got at least into a middling inn, kept by an old Mrs. Egremont. The house was not so clean as they usually are in America; but the most disagreeable circumstance was the

want of several panes of glass. In fact, of all repairs, that of windows is the most difficult, in a country where, from the scattered situation and distance of the houses from each other, it is sometimes necessary to send twenty miles for a glazier. We made use of everything that came to hand to patch up the windows in the best way one could, and we made an excellent fire. Soon after, the Doctor of the hospital, who had seen me pass, and knew me to be a French General-Officer, came with great politeness to see if I wanted any thing, and to offer me every service in his power. I make use of the English word Doctor, because the distinction of Surgeon and Physician is as little known in the army of Washington, as in that of Agamemnon. We read in Homer, that the Physician Macaon himself dressed the wounds; but our Physicians, who are no Greeks, will not follow their example. The Americans conform to the ancient custom, and it answers very well; they are well pleased with their Doctors, whom they hold in the highest consideration. Doctor Craig, whom I knew at Newport, is the intimate friend of General Washington; and the Marquis de la Fafayette had very lately an Aide de Camp, Colonel Mac-Henry, who the year before performed the functions of Doctor in the same army.

The 21st, at nine in the morning, the Quarter-Master of Fish-kill, who had come the night before with the utmost politeness to offer me his services, and to place two sentinels at the door, an honour I refused in spight of everything he could say, called upon me; and after drinking tea according to custom, he conducted me to see the barracks, the magazines, and workhouses of the different workmen employed by the service of the army. These barracks are wooden houses, well built, and well covered, having garrets, and even cellars, so that we should form a false idea, were we to judge of them by what we see in

our armies, when our troops are barraques. The Americans sometimes make them like ours, but this is merely to cover the soldiers when they are more within reach of the enemy. They call these huts, and they are very expert in constructing one and the other. They require only three days to build the former; reckoning from the moment they begin to cut down the trees; the others are finished in four and twenty hours. They consist of little walls made of stones heaped up, the intervals of which are filled with earth kneaded with water, or simply with mud; a few planks form the roof; but what renders them very warm is, that the chimney occupies the outer side, and that you can only enter by a small door, at the side of the chimney. The army has passed whole winters under such huts, without suffering, and without sickness. As for the barracks, or rather the little military town of Fish-kill, such ample provision is made for everything which the service and discipline of the army may require, that a prevote and a prison are built there, surrounded by pallisades. One gate only affords access to the inclosure of the prevote; and before it is placed a guard-house. Through the window-bars of the prison, I distinguished some prisoners, with the English uniform; they were about thirty soldiers, or regimental Tories. These wretches had accompanied the savages in the excursion they had made by Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river. They had burnt upwards of two hundred houses, killed the horses and cows, and destroyed above one hundred thousand bushels of corn. The gallows should have been the reward of these exploits, but the enemy having also made some prisoners, reprisals were dreaded, and these robbers were only confined in rigorous and close imprisonment.

After passing some time in visiting these different settlements, I got on horseback, and under the conduct of a

guard which the Quarter-Master gave me, I entered the wood and followed the road to West Point, where I wished to arrive for dinner. Four or five miles from Fish-kill, I saw some felled trees, and an opening in the woods, which on coming nearer I discovered to be a camp, or rather huts inhabited by some hundred invalid soldiers. These invalids were all in very good health; but it is necessary to observe, that in the American armies, every soldier is called an invalid, who is unfit for service; now these had been sent here because their clothes were truly invalids. These honest fellows, for I will not say creatures, (they know too well how to suffer, and are suffering in too noble a cause) were not covered, even with rags; but their steady countenances, and their arms in good order, seemed to supply the defect of clothes, and to display nothing but their courage and their patience. Near this camp I met with Major Liman, Aid de camp to General Heath, with whom I was particularly intimate at Newport, and Mr. de Ville Franche, a French officer, serving as an Engineer at West Point. General Heath had been informed of my arrival by an express, sent without my knowledge, by the Quarter-Master of Fish-kill, and he had dispatched these two officers to meet me. I continued my journey in the woods, in a road hemmed in on both sides by very steep hills, which seemed admirably adapted for the dwelling of bears, and where in fact they often make their appearance in winter. We availed ourselves at length of a less difficult part of these mountains to turn to the Westward and approach the river, but which is still invisible. Descending them slowly, at the turning of the road, my eyes were struck with the most magnificent picture I had ever beheld. It was a view of the North river, running in a deep channel formed by the mountains, through which in former ages it had forced its passage. The fort of West

Point, and the formidable batteries which defend it, fix the attention on the Western bank, but on lifting your eyes you behold on every side lofty summits, thick set with redoubts and batteries. I leaped off my horse and viewed them a long time with my spying glass, the only method of acquiring a knowledge of the whole of the fortifications with which this important post is surrounded. Two lofty heights, on each of which a large redoubt is constructed, protect the Eastern bank. These two works have no other name than the Northern, and the Southern Redoubts; but from the fort of West Point properly so called, which is on the edge of the river, to the very top of the mountain at the foot of which it stands, are six different forts, all in the form of an amphitheatre, and protecting each other. They compelled me to leave this place, where I should willingly have spent the whole day, but I had not travelled a mile before I saw the reason of their hurrying me. I perceived a corps of infantry of about two thousand five hundred men, ranged in line of battle on the bank of the river. They had just passed it to proceed by Kingsbridge, and cover a grand foraging party which it was proposed to send towards the White-Plains, and to the gates of New York. General Stark, who beat the English at Bennington, had the command of these troops, and General Heath was at their head; he was desirous of letting me see them before they marched. I passed before the ranks, being saluted with the esponton by all the officers, and the drums beating a march, an honour paid in America to Major-Generals, who are the first in rank, though it only corresponds with our Marechall de Camp. The troops were ill clothed, but made a good appearance; as for the officers they were everything that could be wished, as well for their countenances, as for their manner of marching, and giving the command. After passing the front of the line,

they broke it, filed off before me, and continued their route. General Heath conducted me to the river, where his barge was waiting to carry me to the other side. A new scene now opened to my view, not less sublime than the former. We descended with our faces towards the north; on that side is an island covered with rocks, which seem to close the channel of the river, but you soon perceive, through a sort of embrasure formed by its bed in separating immense mountains, that it comes obliquely from the westward, and that it has made a sudden turn round West Point to open itself a passage, and to endeavour to gain the sea, without making hereafter the smallest bend. The eye carrying itself towards the North Bay and Constitution Island, (the isle I have been speaking of) again perceives the river, distinguishes New Windsor on its left bank, and is then attracted by different amphitheatres formed by the Apalachian Mountains, the nearest summits of which, that terminate the scene, are distant upwards of thirty miles. We embarked in the barge, and passed the river, which is about a mile wide. As we approached the opposite shore, the fort of West Point, which, seen from the eastern bank, seemed humbly situated at the foot of the mountains, elevated itself to our view, and appeared like the summit of a steep rock; this rock however was only the bank of the river. Had I not remarked that the chinks on it, in several places, were embrasures for cannon, and formidable batteries, I should soon have been apprised of it by thirteen 24-pounders, which were fired successively. This was a military salute, with which General Heath was pleased to honour me in the name of the Thirteen States. Never was honour more commanding, nor more majestic; every gun was, after a long interval, echoed back from the opposite bank, with a noise nearly equal to that of the discharge itself. When we recollect that two years ago West Point



was a desert, almost inaccessible, that this desert has been covered with fortresses and artillery, by a people, who six years before had scarcely ever seen cannon; when we reflect that the fate of the United States depended in great measure on this important post; and that a horse dealer, transformed into a General, or rather become a hero, always intrepid, always victorious, but always purchasing victory at the price of his blood; that this extraordinary man, at once the honour, and the opprobrium of his country, actually sold, and expected to deliver this Palladium of American liberty to the English; when so many extraordinary circumstances are brought together in the physical and moral order of things, it may easily be imagined that I had sufficient exercise for reflection, and that I did not tire on the road.

On landing, or rather on climbing the rocks on the banks of the river, we were received by Colonel Lamb, and Major Bowman, both officers of artillery; by Major Fish, a handsome young man, witty and well formed; and Major Franks, formerly Aid de Camp to Arnold. The latter had been tried and honourably acquitted by a council of war, demanded by himself after the escape and treason of his General. He speaks good French, as well as Colonel Lamb, which they both learnt in Canada, where they were settled. The latter received a musquet shot in his jaw at the attack of Quebec, fighting by the side of Arnold, and having nearly penetrated into the upper town. Pressed by dinner time, we went immediately to General Heath's barrack. The fort, which was begun on much too extensive a plan, has been since curtailed by Mr. du Portail, so that this barrack is no longer within its precincts. Around it are some magazines, and farther to the north-west, barracks for three or four battalions; they are built of wood and similar to those of Fish-kill. Whilst dinner was prepar-

ing, General Heath took me into a little closet, which served him as a bedchamber, and shewed me the instructions he had given General Stark for the grand foraging party he commanded. This expedition required a movement of troops in a space of more than fifty miles; and I can affirm, that they were as well conceived as any instructions of that kind I have ever seen, either in print, or manuscript. He shewed me also a letter in which General Washington only ordered him to send this detachment, and pointed out its object, without communicating to him, however, another operation connected with it, which was to take place on the right bank of the North River. From various intelligence, by indirect ways, General Heath was persuaded, that in case the enemy collected his force to interrupt the forage, Mr. de la Fayette would attack Staten Island, and he was not deceived; but Mr. Washington contented himself with announcing generally some movements on his side, adding, that he waited for a more safe method of communicating the nature of them to General Heath. Secrecy is strictly observed in the American army; very few persons are in the confidence of the Commander, and in general there is less said of the operations of war, of what we call news, than in the French army.

General Heath is so well known in our little army, that I should dispense with entering into particulars respecting him, if this Journal, in which I endeavour to recollect what little I have seen in this country, were not destined at the same time to satisfy the curiosity of others who have not crossed the sea, and to whose amusement I am desirous of contributing. This General was one of the first who took up arms, at the blockade of Boston, and having at first joined the army in the quality of Colonel, he was immediately raised to the rank of Major-General. He was at that time a substantial farmer or rich gentleman; for we must

not lose sight of the distinction, that in America, farmer means cultivator, in opposition to merchant, which every man is called who is employed in commerce. Here, as in England, by gentlemen, is understood a person possessing a considerable freehold, of land of his own. General Heath, then, was a farmer or gentleman, and reared, on his estate, a great number of cattle, which he sold for ships provisions. But his natural taste led him to the study of war; to which he has principally applied himself since the period in which his duty has concurred with his inclination; he has read our best authors on tactics, and especially the Tactics of Mr. Guibert, which he holds in particular estimation. His fortune enabling him to continue in the service, notwithstanding the want of pay, which has compelled the less rich to quit it, he has served the whole war; but accident has prevented him from being present on the most important occasions. His countenance is noble and open; and his bald head, as well as his corpulence, give him a striking resemblance to the late Lord Granby. He writes well and with ease; has great sensibility of mind, and a frank and amiable character; in short, if he has not been in the way of displaying his talents in action, it may be at least asserted, that he is well adapted to the business of the cabinet. His estate is near Boston, and he commanded there when Burgoyne's army were brought prisoners thither. It was he who put the English General Philips in arrest, for want of respect to the Congress; his conduct on this occasion was firm and noble. On our arrival at Rhode Island, he was sent there; and soon after, when Clinton was preparing to attack us, he assembled and commanded the militia, who came to our assistance. During his stay at Newport, he lived honourably, and in great friendship with all the French officers. In the month of September, General Washington, on dis-

covering the treason of Arnold, sent for him, and gave him the command of West Point; a mark of confidence the more honourable, as none but the most honest of men was proper to succeed, in this command, the basest of all traitors.

After giving this advantageous but just idea of General Heath, I cannot but congratulate myself on the friendship, and thorough good understanding which subsisted between us during his stay at Newport, where my knowledge of the English language rendered me the medium in all affairs we had to transact with him. It was with real satisfaction he received me at West Point; he gave me a plain but very good dinner. It is true there was not a drop of wine; but I find that with excellent cyder and toddy, one may very well dispense with it. As soon as we rose from table, we hurried to avail ourselves of the remaining daylight to examine the fortifications. The first fort we met with above West Point, on the declivity of the mountain, is called Fort Putnam, from the General of that name. It is placed on a rock very steep on every side; the ramparts were at first constructed with trunks of trees; they are rebuilt with stone, and are not quite finished. There is a powder magazine bomb-proof, a large cistern, and fouter-rains for the garrison. Above this fort, and when we reach the loftiest summit, there are three strong redoubts lined with cannon, at three different eminences, each of which would require a formal siege. The day being nearly spent, I contented myself with judging by the eye, of the very intelligent manner in which they are calculated for mutual protection. Fort Wallis, whither General Heath conducted me, was nearer and more accessible. Though it be placed lower than Fort Putnam, it still commands the river to the south. It is a large pentagonal redoubt, built of huge trunks of trees; it is picketed, and lined with artil-

lery. Under the fire of this redoubt, and lower down, is a battery of cannon, to range more obliquely the course of the river. This battery is not closed at the gorge, so that the enemy may take, but can never keep it; which leads me to remark that this is the best method in all field fortifications. Batteries placed in works, have two inconveniences; the first is, that if these works be ever so little elevated, they do not graze sufficiently; and the second, that the enemy may at once attack the redoubt and the battery; whereas the latter being exterior and protected by the redoubt, must be first attacked; in which case it is supported by troops who have nothing to fear for themselves, and whose fire is commonly better directed, and does more execution. A battery yet lower, and nearer to the river, completes the security of the southern part.

In returning to West Point, we saw a redoubt that is suffered to go to ruin, as being useless, which in fact it is. It was night when we got home, but what I had to observe did not require daylight. It is a vast souterrain, formed within the fort of West Point, where not only the powder and ammunition necessary for this post are kept in reserve, but the deposit of the whole army. These magazines completely filled, the numerous artillery one sees in these different fortresses, the prodigious labour necessary to transport, and pile up steep rocks, huge trunks of trees, and enormous hewn stones, impress the mind with an idea of the Americans very different from that which the English ministry have laboured to give to Parliament. A Frenchman would be surprised that a nation, just rising into notice, should have expended in two years upwards of twelve millions (half a million sterling) in this desert. He would be still more so on learning that these fortifications cost nothing to the state, being built by the soldiers, who received not the smallest gratification, and who did

not even receive their stated pay; but he would doubtless feel some satisfaction, in hearing that these beautiful and well contrived works were planned and executed by two French Engineers, Mr. du Portail, and Mr. du Gouvion, who received no more pay than their workmen.

But in this wild and warlike abode, where one seems transported to the bottom of Thrace and the dominions of the god Mars, we found, on our return in the evening, some pretty women, and an excellent dish of tea. Mrs Boman, wife of the Major of that name, and a young sister who had accompanied her to West Point, were waiting for us. They lodged in a little barrack neatly arranged. The room they received us in, was hung with handsome paper, furnished with mahogany tables, and even ornamented with several prints. After staying a little time, it was necessary to return to General Heath's quarters, and to dispose matters for passing the night, which was not an easy affair; for the company were much increased in the course of the evening, by the arrival of the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, and the Chevalier Duplessis. Mauduit had reached West Point, which post they had intended to examine minutely; but the motions of the American army determined them to set out with me, in order to join Mr. de la Fayette, the next evening, or early the following morning. Though General Heath had a great deal of company to provide for, his Marechal de Logis had not much to do; there were only three rooms in the barracks; the General's chambers, that of his Aide de Camp, who resigned it to me; and the dining-room in which some blankets were spread before a large fire, where the other gentlemen passed as comfortable a night as could be expected. The morning gun soon summoned them from their beds; the blankets were removed, and the dining-room, resuming its rights, was quickly furnished with a

large table covered with beefsteaks, which we ate with a very good appetite, swilling down from time to time a cup of tea. Europeans would not find this food and drink, taken together, to their taste; but I can assure you that it made a very comfortable breakfast. There now fell a very heavy rain, which had begun in the night, and still continued, with a dreadful wind, which rendered the passage of the ferry very dangerous for our horses, and prevented us from making use of the sail, in the barge General Heath had given us, to carry us to King's Ferry. In spite of all these obstacles we embarked under the firing of thirteen guns, notwithstanding our representations to the contrary. Another circumstance, however, gave additional value to these honours, for the pieces they discharged had belonged to Burgoyne's army. Thus did the artillery sent from Woolwich to Canada in 1777, now serve to defend America, and do homage to her allies, until it was to be employed in the siege of New York.

General Heath, who was detained by business at West Point, sent Major Liman to accompany me to Verplank's Point, where we did not arrive till between twelve and one, after a continued journey amidst the immense hills which cover this country, and leave no other interval than the bed of the river. The highest of them is called Anthony's Nose; it projects into the river, and compels it to make a little change in its course. Before we arrive at this point, we see the ruins of Fort Clinton; this fort, which was named after the Governor of the states of New York, was attacked and taken in 1777 by the English General Clinton, as he was remounting the river to Albany to give his hand to Burgoyne. It was then the principal fort on the river, and built on a rock, at the foot of a mountain, thought to be inaccessible, and was farther defended by a little creek which falls into the main river. Sir Henry Clinton scaled

the top of the mountain, himself carrying the British colours, which he always held aloft, until his troops descended the steep rock, passed the creek, and carried the post. The garrison, consisting of 700 men, were almost all taken. Since the defeat of Burgoyne, and the alliance with France has changed the face of affairs in America, General Washington has not thought proper to repair Fort Clinton; he preferred placing his communication and concentrating his forces at West Point, because the Hudson there makes a circuit which prevents vessels from remounting with the wind abaft, or with the tide; and Constitution Isle, which is precisely at the turn of the river, in a direction north and south, is perfectly well situated to protect the chain which closes the passage for ships of war.

The English, however, had preserved a very important post at King's Ferry, where they were sufficiently well fortified; so that by the aid of their ships, they were masters of the course of the river for the space of more than fifty miles, and were thus able to repel to the northward the very important communication between the Jerseys and Connecticut. Such was the state of things, when, in the month of June, 1779, General Wayne, who commanded in the Clove a corps of 1500 men, formed a project of surprising Stoney Point. This fort was in an entrenchment, surrounded with an abattis, which crowned a steep rock, and formed a well-picketed redoubt. General Wayne marched, in the night, in three columns, the principal of which was led on by Monsieur de Fleury, who, without firing a musquet, forced the abattis, and entrenchments, and entered the redoubt with the fugitives. The attack was so brisk on the part of the Americans, and such the terror of the English, that Mr. de Fleury, who was the first that entered, found himself in an instant loaded with eleven swords which were delivered to him by those who



asked for quarter. It must be added to the honour of our allies, that from that moment not a drop of blood was spilt. The Americans, once masters of one of the banks of the river, lost no time in getting possession of the other. Mr. de Gouvion constructed a redoubt at Verplank's Point (nearly opposite), where we landed, and where, by a lucky accident, we found our horses, arrived as soon as us. This redoubt is of a peculiar form, hardly ever used but in America; the ditch is within the parapet, which is made steep on both sides, and picketed at the height of the cordon; lodgings for the soldiers are formed below. The middle of the work is a space constructed with wood, and in the form of a square tower. There are battlements everywhere, and it commands the rampart. An abattis formed of the tops of trees interwoven, surrounds the whole, and is a substitute for a covered way. We may easily perceive that such a work cannot be insulted, nor taken without cannon. Now as this is backed by the mountains, of which the Americans are always masters, it is almost impossible that the English should besiege it. A creek which falls into Hudson's river, and runs to the southward of this redoubt, renders its position still more advantageous. Colonel Livingston, who commands at King's Ferry, has established himself there in preference to Stoney Point, to be nearer the White Plains, where the English frequently make excursions. He is a very amiable and well-informed young man. Previous to the war he married in Canada, where he has acquired the French language; in 1775, he was one of the first who took arms; he fought under the orders of Montgomery, and took Fort Chambly, whilst the former was besieging St. John's. He received us in his little citadel with great politeness; but to leave it with the honours of war, the American laws required that we should breakfast; it was the second we had taken

that day, and consisted of beef-steaks, and tea, accompanied with a few bowls of grog; for the commander's cellar was no better stored than the soldiers wardrobe. The latter had been sent into this garrison as being the worst clothed of the whole American army, so that one may form some idea of their dress.

About two o'clock we crossed the river, and stopped to examine the fortifications of Stoney Point. The Americans finding them too extensive, had reduced them to a redoubt, nearly similar to that of Verplanks, but not quite so good. There I took leave of Mr. Livingston, who gave me a guide to conduct me to the army, and I set off, preceded by Messieurs de Noailles, de Damas, and de Mauduit, who wished to join Mr. de la Fayette that night, though they had thirty miles to go, through very bad roads. This impatience was well suited to their age; but the intelligence I collected proving to me that the army could not move before the next day, I determined to stop on the road, content to profit by the little daylight that remained to travel ten or twelve miles. On leaving the river, I frequently turned round to enjoy the magnificent spectacle it presents in this place, where its bed becomes so large, that in viewing it to the southward, it has the appearance of an immense lake, whilst the northern aspect is that of a majestic river. I was desirous to observe a fort or promontory, from whence Colonel Livingston had formed the project of taking the Vulture sloop of war, which brought Andre, and was waiting for Arnold. This vessel having come too near the shore, grounded at low water; the Colonel acquainted Arnold with it, and asked him for two pieces of heavy cannon, assuring him that he would place them so as to sink her. Arnold eluded the proposal on frivolous pretences, so that the Colonel could only bring one four-pounder, which was at Verplank's to bear on her.

This piece raked the vessel fore and aft, and did her so much damage, that if she had not got off with the flood, she must have struck. The next day, Colonel Livingston being on the shore, saw Arnold pass in his barge, as he was going down the river to get on board the frigate. He declares that he had such a suspicion of him, that had his guard boats been near, he would have gone after him instantly, and asked him where he was going. This question probably would have embarrassed the traitor, and Colonel Livingston's suspicions being thence confirmed, he would have arrested him.\*

My thoughts were occupied with Arnold and his treason, when my road brought me to Smith's famous house where he had his interview with Andre, and formed his horrid plot. It was in this house they passed the night together, and where Andre changed his clothes. It was there that the liberty of America was bargained for and sold; and it was there that chance, which is always the arbiter of great events, disconcerted this horrible project, and that satisfied with sacrificing the imprudent Andre, she prevented crime, only by the escape of the criminal. Andre was passing the river quietly, to gain White Plains, had not the cannon fired at the frigate, made him apprehend the falling in with the American troops. He imagined, that favoured by his disguise, he should be safer on the right bank; a few miles from thence he was stopped, and a few miles farther he found the gibbet.

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\*There is every reason to believe that Arnold's treachery took its date from his connection with Lieutenant Hale, killed afterwards on board the Formidable in the West Indies, and who was undoubtedly a very active and industrious spy at Philadelphia in the winter of 1778, whither he was sent for that purpose in a pretended flag of truce, which being wrecked in the Delaware, he was made a prisoner by Congress, a subject of much discussion between them and the commander at New York. That the intended plot was known in England, and great hopes built upon it, long before it was to take place, is certain. General Matthews and other officers who returned in the autumn of 1780, being often heard to declare, "that it was all over with the rebels: that they were about to receive an irreparable blow, the news of which would soon arrive, &c. &c." Their silence from the moment in which they received an account of the failure of the plot, and the discovery of the traitor, evidently pointed out the object of their allusions.—Translator.

Smith, who was more than suspected, but not convicted of being a party in the plot, is still in prison, where the law protects him against justice. But his house seems to have experienced the only chastisement of which it was susceptible; it is punished by solitude; and in fact so deserted, that there is not a single person to take care of it, although it is the mansion of a large farm. I pursued my route, but without being able to give so much attention as to recollect it; I only remember that it was as gloomy as my reflections; it brought me into a deep vale, covered with cypresses; a torrent rolled over the rocks, which I passed, and soon after night came on. I had still some miles to an inn, where I got tolerably well accommodated. It is situated in Haverstraw, and is kept by another Smith, but who in no way resembles the former; he assured me he was a good whig, and as he gave me a good supper, I readily believed him.

The 23d I set out at eight o'clock, with the intention of arriving in good time at the Marquis de la Fayette's camp; for I had learnt that the army was not to move that day, and I was desirous of being presented by him to General Washington. The shortest road was by Paramus; but my guide insisted on my turning to the northward, assuring me that the other road was not safe, that it was infested by tories, and that he always avoided it, when he had letters to carry. I took the road to the right therefore, and followed for some time the revulet of Romopog; I then turned to the left, and soon got into the township of Pompton, and into the Totohaw road; but being informed that it led me straight to the main body of the army, without passing by the van commanded by M. de la Fayette, I inquired for some cross road to his quarter, and one was pointed out to me, by which, passing near a sort of lake which forms a very agreeable point of view,

and then crossing some very beautiful woods, I arrived at a stream which falls into Second River, exactly at the spot where M. de la Fayette was encamped. His posts lined the rivulet; they were well disposed, and in good order. At length I arrived at the camp; but the Marquis was not there; apprized of my coming by the Vicomte de Noailles, he had gone to wait for me at seven miles distance, at headquarters, where he thought I should direct my course. He had sent, however Major Gimat, and one of his Aides de Camp, to meet me, but they had taken the two roads to Paramus; so that by his precautions, and those of my guide, I was, as they say in English, completely disappointed, for it was two o'clock, and I had already travelled thirty miles without stopping. I was in the utmost impatience to embrace M. de la Fayette, and to see General Washington, but I could not make my horses partake of it. It was proposed to me to proceed directly to headquarters, because, said they, I might perhaps arrive in time for dinner. But seeing the impossibility of that, and being in a country where I was known, I desired some oats for my horses. Whilst they were making this slight repast, I went to see the camp of the Marquis, it is thus they call Mr. de la Fayette; the English language being fond of abridgements, and titles uncommon in America. I found this camp placed in an excellent position; it occupied two heights separated by a small bottom, but with an easy communication between them. The river Totohaw or Second River, protects its right, and it is here that it makes a considerable elbow, and turning towards the south, falls at length into the bay of Newark. The principal part of the front, and all the left flank, to a great distance, are covered by the rivulet which comes from Paramus, and falls into the same river. This position is only twenty miles from New York island; and was accord-

ingly occupied by the van guard, consisting of light infantry, that is to say, by the picked corps of the American army; the regiments, in fact, which compose it have no grenadiers, but only a company of light artillery, answering to our Chasseurs, and of whom battalions are formed at the beginning of the campaign. This troop made a good appearance, were better clothed than the rest of the army; the uniforms both of the officers and soldiers were smart and military, and each soldier wore a helmet made of hard leather, with a crest of horse-hair. The officers are armed with espontoons, or rather with half pikes, and the subalterns with fusils; but both were provided with short and light sabres, brought from France, and made a present of to them by M. de la Fayette. The tents, agreeably to the American custom, formed only two ranks; they were in regular lines, as well as those of the officers; and as the season was advanced, they had good chimneys, but placed differently from ours; for they are all built on the outside, and conceal the entrance of the tents, which produce the double effect of keeping off the wind, and of preserving heat night and day. I saw no piles of arms, and was informed that the Americans made no use of them. When the weather is good, each company places its fusils on a wooden horse, but when it rains, they must be removed into the tents, which is undoubtedly a great inconvenience; this will be remedied when the means of doing it are more abundant, but I fear much, that this will not happen the next year.

As I was walking in the front of the camp, I was joined by an officer, who spoke very good French; which was not astonishing, as he turned out to be as much a Frenchman as myself; this was Major Galvan. This officer came to America on Commercial affairs, on which subject he has even had a sort of trial with the Congress; but he was

patronized by many persons, and particularly by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, our Ambassador; desiring to enter into the service, he obtained the rank of Major, and the command of a battalion of light infantry. He is a man of abilities, and they are very well satisfied with him in the American army. He led me to his tent, where I found a table neatly spread; he proposed to me to dine, but I did not accept it, imagining I should lose nothing by waiting for that which General Washington would give me. After all we have heard in Europe of the distressed state of the American army, it will appear extraordinary, perhaps, that such a thing as dinner was to be found at the tent of a Major. Doubtless it is impossible to live without money, when everything one eats is to be paid for; a privilege the Americans possess no more than others. But it must be understood, that they receive rations of provisions, rum, and flour; that they have in each regiment a Baker to bake their bread, and soldiers to serve them; so that an officer who takes the field with a tent, and a sufficiency of clothing, may do very well till winter without spending anything. The misfortune is, that provisions sometimes fail, or do not arrive in time; in which case they really suffer; but these are critical moments, which do not often occur, and may be prevented in future, if the States perform their engagements, and the Quarter-Master-General, and Commissioners do their duty. I left Mr. Galvin sitting down to dinner, and went to prepare my horses, that I might get to headquarters before the day was spent. Colonel Mac Henry, whom I have before mentioned, took upon himself to conduct me. We kept along the river, which was on our left. After riding two miles we came in sight of the left of the army. It was encamped on two heights, and in one line, in an extended but very good position, having a wood in the rear, and in the front the river, which

is very difficult of passage everywhere except at Totohaw Bridge. But the situation would be quite in favour of an army defending the left bank, and the heights on that side everywhere commanding those of the right. Two miles beyond the bridge is a meeting-house of an hexagonal form, which is given to their places of worship by the Dutch Presbyterians, who are very numerous in the Jerseys.

I was pursuing my journey, conversing with Mr. Mac Henry, when I was apprized by a considerable noise, that I could not be far from the great cataract, called Totohaw-Fall. I was divided between my impatience to view this curiosity, and that of approaching General Washington; but Mr. Mac Henry informing me that it would not take me two hundred paces out of my way to see the cataract, I determined to avail myself of the remainder of a fine day, and I had not in fact gone a stone's throw before I had the astonishing spectacle before me of a large river, which precipitates itself from a height of seventy feet, and so ingulphed in a hollow of a rock, which seems to swallow it up, but from whence it escapes by turning short to the right. It seems to me impossible to give an idea of this water-fall, but by a drawing. Let the finishing to the imagination; she is the rival of Nature, and sometimes also her rival and interpreter. Let the reader figure to himself, then, a river running between mountains covered with firs, the dark green of which is in contact with the colour of its waters, and renders its course more majestic; let him represent to himself an immense rock, which would totally close up the passage, had it not, by an earthquake, or some other subterraneous revolution, been rent in several pieces, from its summit to its base, by this means forming long crevices perfectly vertical. One of these crevices, the depth of which is unknown, may be twenty-five or



thirty feet wide. It is in this cavern that the river having cleared a part of the rock, precipitates itself with violence; but as this rock crosses its whole bed, it can only escape by that extremity of the two, which offers it an outlet. There a fresh obstacle presents itself; another rock opposes its flight, and it is obliged to form a right angle, and turn short to the left. But it is extraordinary, that after this dreadful fall, it neither froths, nor boils up, nor forms whirlpools, but goes off quietly by its channel, and gains, in silence, a profound valley, where it pursues its course to the sea. This perfect calm, after a movement so rapid, can only proceed from the enormous depth of the cavern, into which it is plunged. I did not examine the rock with aqua fortis; but as there seem to be no calcareous stones in this country, I take it to be hard rock, and of the nature of quartz; but it presents a peculiarity worthy of attention, which is, that its whole surface is hollowed into little squares. Was it in a state of fusion when raised from the bowels of the earth, and it blocked up the passage of the river? These vertical crevices, these flaws on the surface, are they the effects of its cooling? These are questions I leave to the discussion of the learned; I shall only observe, that there is no volcanic appearance; nor through the whole country are there the smallest traces of a volcano, of such at least as are posterior to the last epochs of Nature.

Though Doctor Mac Henry began by being a Doctor, before he was an officer, and is well informed, I did not find him much served in natural history, and I preferred questioning him on the subject of the army along the front of which I rode, meeting perpetually with posts, who took arms, the drum beating, and the officers saluting with the espontoon. All these posts were not for the safety of the army; many of them were stationed to guard houses and

barns, which served as magazines. At length, after riding two miles along the right flank of the army, and after passing thick woods on the right, I found myself in a small plain, where I saw a handsome farm; a small camp which seemed to cover it, a large tent extended in the court, and several waggons round it, convinced me that this was his Excellency's quarter; for it is thus Mr. Washington is called in the army, and throughout America. M. de la Fayette was in conversation with a tall man, five feet nine inches high, (about five feet ten inches and a half English) of a noble and mild countenance. It was the General himself. I was soon off horseback, and near him. The compliments were short; the sentiments with which I was animated, and the good wishes he testified for me were not equivocal. He conducted me to his house, where I found the company still at table, although the dinner had been long over. He presented me to the Generals Knox, Wayne, Howe, etc., and to his family, then composed of Colonels Hamilton and Tilgman, his Secretaries and his Aides de Camp, and of Major Gibbs, commander of his guards; for in England and America, the Aides de Camp, Adjutants and other officers attached to the General, form what is called his family. A fresh dinner was prepared for me, and mine; and the present was prolonged to keep me company. A few glasses of claret and Madeira accelerated the acquaintances I had to make, and I soon felt myself at my ease near the greatest and the best of men. The goodness and benevolence which characterize him, are evident from everything about him; but the confidence he gives birth to, never occasions improper familiarity; for the sentiment he inspires has the same origin in every individual, a profound esteem for his virtues, and a high opinion of his talents. About nine o'clock the general officers withdrew to their quarters, where were all at a

considerable distance; but as the General wished me to stay in his own house, I remained some time with him, after which he conducted me to the chamber prepared for my Aides de Camp and me. This chamber occupied the fourth part of his lodgings; he apologized to me for the little room he had to his disposal, but always with a noble politeness, which was neither complimentary nor troublesome.

At nine the next morning they informed me that his Excellency was come down into the parlour. This room served at once as audience chamber, and dining-room. I immediately went to wait on him, and found breakfast prepared. Lord Stirling had come to breakfast with us. He is one of the oldest Major-Generals in the army; his birth, his titles and pretty extensive property have given him more importance in America, than his talents could ever have acquired him. The title of Lord, which was refused him in England, is not here contested with him; he claimed this title from inheritance, and went to Europe to support his pretensions, but without success. A part of his estate has been dissipated by the war, and by his taste for expence; he is accused of liking the table and the bottle, full as much as becomes a Lord, but more than becomes a General. He is brave, but without capacity, and has not been fortunate in the different commands with which he has been entrusted. He was made prisoner at the affair of Long Island. In June, 1777, he got into a scrape at Elizabeth Town, whilst General Washington made head against 20,000 English on the heights of Middlebrook; he there lost two or three hundred men, and three pieces of cannon; at Brandywine he commanded the right of the army, or rather the body of troops defeated by Cornwallis; but on all these occasions he displayed great personal courage and firmness. I conversed a long time with him,

and found him to be a sensible man, not ill informed of the affairs of his country. He is old and rather dull; but with all this he will continue to serve, because the employment, though not lucrative, helps to repair a little the disorder in his affairs; and not having quitted the service since the beginning of the war, he has, at least, zeal and seniority in his favour; thus he will retain the command of the first line, to which his rank entitles him; but care will be taken not to employ him on particular expeditions.

Whilst we were at breakfast, horses were brought, and General Washington gave orders for the army to get under arms at the head of the camp. The weather was very bad, and it had already begun raining; we waited half an hour; but the General seeing that it was more likely to increase than to diminish, determined to get on horseback. Two horses were brought him, which were a present from the State of Virginia; he mounted one himself, and gave me the other. Mr. Lynch and Mr. de Montesquieu, had each of them, also a very handsome blood horse, such as we could not find at Newport for any money. We repaired to the artillery camp, where General Knox received us; the artillery was numerous, and the gunners, in very fine order, were formed in parade, in the foreign manner, that is, each gunner at his battery, and ready to fire. The General was so good as to apologize to me for the cannon not firing to salute me; he said, that having put all the troops on the other side of the river in motion, and apprized them that he might himself march along the right bank, he was afraid of giving the alarm, and of deceiving the detachments that were out. We gained, at length, the right of the army, where we saw the Pennsylvania line; it was composed of two brigades, each forming three battalions, without reckoning the light infantry, which were detached with the Marquis de la Fayette. General Wayne, who com-

manded it, was on horseback, as well as the Brigadiers and Colonels. They were all well mounted; the officers also had a very military air; they were well ranged and saluted very gracefully. Each brigade had a band of music, the march they were then playing was the Huron. I knew that this line, though in want of many things, was the best clothed in the army; so that his Excellency asking me whether I would proceed, and see the whole army, or go by the shortest road to the camp of the Marquis, I accepted the latter proposal. The troops ought to thank me for it, for the rain was falling with redoubled force; they were dismissed, therefore, and we arrived heartily wet at the Marquis de la Fayette's quarters, where I warmed myself with great pleasure, partaking, from time to time, of a large bowl of grog, which is stationary on his table, and is presented to every officer who enters. The rain appearing to cease, or inclined to cease for a moment, we availed ourselves of the opportunity to follow his Excellency to the camp of the Marquis; we found all his troops in order of battle on the heights to the left, and himself at their head expressing, by his air and countenance, that he was happier in receiving me there, than at his estate in Auvergne. The confidence and attachment of the troops, are for him invaluable possessions, well acquired riches, of which no body can deprive him; but what, in my opinion, is still more flattering for a young man of his age, is the influence, the consideration he has acquired amongst the political, as well as the military order; I do not fear contradiction when I say, that private letters from him have frequently produced more effect on some states than the strongest exhortations of the Congress. On seeing him, one is at a loss which most to admire, that so young a man as he should have given such eminent proofs of talents, or that a man so tried, should

give hopes of so long a career of glory. Fortunate his country, if she knows how to avail herself of them; more fortunate still should she stand in no need of calling them into exertion!

I distinguished, with pleasure, among the colonels, who were extremely well mounted, and who saluted with great grace, M. de Gimat, a French officer, over whom I claim the right of a sort of military paternity, having brought him up in my regiment from his earliest youth. This whole van-guard consisted of six battalions, forming two brigades; but there was only one piquet of dragoons or light cavalry, the remainder having marched to the southward with Colonel Lee. These dragoons are perfectly well mounted, and do not fear meeting the English dragoons, over whom they have gained several advantages; but they have never been numerous enough to form a solid and permanent body. The piquet that was kept with the army, served then as an escort to the Provost Marshal, and performed the functions of the Marechaussee, until the establishment of a regular one, which was intended.

The rain spared us no more at the camp of the Marquis, than at that of the main army; so that our review being finished, I saw with pleasure General Washington set off in a gallop to regain his quarters. We reached them as soon as the badness of the roads would permit us. At our return we found a good dinner ready, and about twenty guests, among whom were Generals Howe and Sinclair. The repast was in the English fashion, consisting of eight or ten large dishes of butcher's meat, and poultry, with vegetables of several sorts, followed by a second course of pastry, comprised under the two denominations of pies and puddings. After this the cloth was taken off, and apples and a great quantity of nuts were served, which General Washington usually continues eating for two

hours, toasting and conversing all the time. These nuts are small and dry, and have so hard a shell, (hickory nuts) that they can only be broken by the hammer; they are served half open, and the company are never done picking and eating them. The conversation was calm and agreeable; his Excellency was pleased to enter with me into the particulars of some of the principal operations of the war, but always with a modesty and conciseness, which proved that it was from pure complaisance he mentioned it. About half past seven we rose from the table, and immediately the servants came to shorten it, and convert it into a round one; for at dinner it was placed diagonally to give more room. I was surprised at this manœuvre, and asked the reason of it; I was told they were going to lay the cloth for supper. In half an hour I retired to my chamber, fearing lest the General might have business, and that he remained in company only on my account; but at the end of another half hour, I was informed that his Excellency expected me at supper. I returned to the dining-room, protesting against this supper; but the General told me he was accustomed to take something in the evening; that if I would be seated, I should only eat some fruit, and assist in the conversation. I desired nothing better, for there were then no strangers, and nobody remained but the General's family. The supper was composed of three or four light dishes, some fruit, and above all, a great abundance of nuts, which were as well received in the evening as at dinner. The cloth being soon removed, a few bottles of good claret and Madeira were placed on the table. Every sensible man will be of my opinion, that being a French officer, under the orders of General Washington, and what is more a good whig, I could not refuse a glass of wine offered me by him, but, I confess, that I had little merit in this complaisance, and

that, less accustomed to drink than anybody, I accommodated myself very well to the English mode of toasting; you have very small glasses, you pour out yourself the quantity of wine you choose, without being pressed to take more, and the toast is only a sort of check in the conversation, to remind each individual that he forms part of the company, I observed that there was more solemnity in the toasts at dinner; there were several ceremonious ones; the others were suggested by the General, and given out by his Aides de Camp, who performed the honours of the table at dinner; for one of them is every day seated at the bottom of the table, near the General, to serve the company, and distribute the bottles. The toasts in the evening were given by Colonel Hamilton, without order or ceremony. After supper the guests are generally desired to give a sentiment; that is to say, a lady to whom they are attached by some sentiment, either of love or friendship, or perhaps from preference only. This supper, or conversation, commonly lasted from nine to eleven, always free, and always agreeable.

The weather was so bad on the 25th, that it was impossible for me to stir, even to wait on the Generals, to whom M. de la Fayette was to conduct me. I easily consoled myself for this, finding it a great luxury to pass a whole day with General Washington, as if he were at his house in the country, and had nothing to do. The Generals Glover, Huntingdon, and some others, dined with us, and the Colonels Stewart and Butler, two officers distinguished in the army. The intelligence received this day occasioned the proposed attack on Staten Island to be laid aside. The foraging party under General Starke had met with the most complete success; the enemy not having thought proper to disturb them, so that they had not stripped the posts in the quarter where it was intended to attack them;



besides, that this expedition could only have been a coup de main, rendered very difficult by the badness of the roads from the excessive rains. It was determined therefore that the army should march the next day to winter quarters, and that I should continue my route to Philadelphia.

The weather being fair, on the 26th, I got on horseback, after breakfasting with the General. He was so attentive as to give me the horse he rode on, the day of my arrival, which I had greatly commended; I found him as good as he is handsome; but above all, perfectly well broke, and well trained, having a good mouth, easy in hand, and stopping short in a gallop without bearing the bit. I mention these minute particulars, because it is the General himself who breaks all his own horses; and he is a very excellent and bold horseman, leaping the highest fences, and going extremely quick, without standing upon his stirrups, bearing on the bridle, or letting his horse run wild; circumstances which our young men look upon as so essential a part of English horsemanship, that they would rather break a leg or an arm than to renounce them.

My first visit was to General Wayne, where Mr. de la Fayette was waiting to conduct me to the other general officers of the line. We were received by General Huntington, who appeared rather young for the rank of Brigadier-General, which he has held two years; his carriage is cold and reserved, but one is not long in perceiving him to be a man of sense and information; by General Glover, about five and forty, a little man, but active and a good soldier; by General Howe, who is one of the oldest Majors-Generals, and who enjoys the consideration due to his rank, though, from unfavourable circumstances, he has not been fortunate in war, particularly in Georgia, where he commanded with a very small force, at the time General Prevost took possession of it; he is fond of music, the arts, and

pleasure, and has a cultivated mind. I remained a considerable time with him. \* \* \* \* \*

General Knox, whom we had met, and who accompanied us, brought us back to headquarters, through a wood, as the shortest way, and to fall into a road leading to his house, where we wished to pay our compliments to Mrs. Knox. We found her settled in a little farm, where she had passed part of the campaign; for she never quits her husband. A child of six months, and a little girl of three years old, formed a real family for the General. As for himself, he is between thirty and forty, very fat, but very active, and of a gay and amiable character. Previous to the war he was a bookseller at Boston, and used to amuse himself in reading some military books in his shop. Such was the origin and the first knowledge he acquired of the art of war, and of the taste he has had ever since for the profession of arms. From the very first campaign, he was entrusted with the command of the artillery, and it has turned out that it could not have been placed in better hands. It was he whom M. du Coudray endeavoured to supplant, and who had no difficulty in removing him. It was fortunate for M. du Coudray, perhaps, that he was drowned in the Schuylkill, rather than to be swallowed up in the intrigues he was engaged in, and which might have been productive of much mischief.

On our return to headquarters, we found several General Officers and Colonels, with whom we dined. I had an opportunity of conversing more particularly with General Wayne; he has served more than any officer of the American army, and his services have been more distinguished, though he is yet but young. He is sensible, and his conversation is agreeable and animated. The affair of Stony Point has gained him much honour in the army; however, he is only a Brigadier-General. This arises from

the nomination to the superior ranks being vested in the States to whom the troops belong, and that the State of Pennsylvania has not thought proper to make any promotion apparently from principles of economy. The remainder of the day I dedicated to the enjoyment of General Washington's company, whom I was to quit the next day. He was so good as to point out to me himself my journey, to send on before to prepare me lodgings, and to give me a Colonel to conduct me as far as Trenton. The next morning all the General's baggage was packed up, which did not hinder us from breakfasting, before we parted, he for his winter quarters, and I for my journey to Philadelphia.

Here would be the proper place to give the portrait of General Washington; but what can my testimony add to the idea already formed of him? The continent of North America, from Boston to Charles Town, is a great volume, every page of which presents his eulogium. I know, that having had the opportunity of a near inspection, and of closely observing him, some more particular details may be expected from me; but the strongest characteristic of this respectable man is the perfect union which reigns between the physical and moral qualities which compose the individual, one alone will enable you to judge of all the rest. If you are presented with medals of Caesar, or Trajan, or Alexander, on examining their features, you will still be led to ask what was their stature, and the form of their persons; but if you discover, in a heap of ruins, the head or the limb of an antique Apollo, be not curious about the other parts, but rest assured that they all were conformable to those of a God. Let not this comparison be attributed to enthusiasm! It is not my intention to exaggerate, I wish only to express the impression General Washington has left on my mind; the idea of a perfect whole, that cannot be the produce of enthusiasm, which

rather would reject it, since the effect of proportion is to diminish the idea of greatness. Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without severity; he seems always to have confined himself within those limits, where the virtues, by clothing themselves in more lively, but more changeable and doubtful colours, may be mistaken for faults. This is the seventh year that he has commanded the army, and that he has obeyed the Congress; more need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple fact. Let it be repeated that Conde was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, Catinat disinterested. It is not thus that Washington will be characterized. It will be said of him, **AT THE END OF A LONG CIVIL WAR, HE HAD NOTHING WITH WHICH HE COULD REPROACH HIMSELF.** If anything can be more marvellous than such a character, it is the unanimity of the public suffrages in his favour. Soldier, magistrate, people, all love and admire him; all speak of him in terms of tenderness and veneration. Does there then exist a virtue capable of restraining the injustice of mankind; or are glory and happiness too recently established in America, for Envy to have deigned to pass the seas?

In speaking of this perfect whole of which General Washington furnishes the idea, I have not excluded exterior form. His stature is noble and lofty, he is well made, and exactly proportioned; his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such as to render it impossible to speak particularly of any of his features, so that in quitting him, you have only the recollection of a fine face. He has neither a grave nor a familiar air, his brow is sometimes marked with thought, but never with inquietude; in inspiring re-

spect, he inspires confidence, and his smile is always the smile of benevolence.

But above all, it is in the midst of his General Officers, that it is interesting to behold him. General in a republic, he has not the imposing stateliness of a Marechal de France who gives the order; a hero in a republic, he excites another sort of respect, which seems to spring from the sole idea, that the safety of each individual is attached to his person. As for the rest, I must observe on this occasion, that the General Officers of the American army have a very military and a very becoming carriage; that even all the officers, whose characters were brought into public view, unite much politeness to a great deal of capacity; that the headquarters of this army, in short, neither present the image of want, nor inexperience. When one sees the battalion of the General's guards encamped within the precincts of his house; nine waggons, destined to carry his baggage, ranged in his court; a great number of grooms taking care of very fine horses belonging to the General Officers and their Aides de Camp; when one observes the perfect order that reigns within these precincts, where the guards are exactly stationed, and where the drums beat an alarm, and a retreat, one is tempted to apply to the Americans what Pyrrhus said of the Romans: Truly these people have nothing barbarous in their discipline!

[M. Chastellux then proceeded under the escort of Colonel Moyland, given him by His Excellency, General Washington as a companion and guide. Colonel Moyland was an Irish Catholic, "an Aide de Camp to the General and has merited the command of the light cavalry." Under his direction an excellent dinner was prepared at Morristown (N. Y.) to the great astonishment of the writer.]

After dinner I had a visit from General St. Clair, whom I had already seen at the army, which he had left the preceeding evening to sleep at Morris-Town. It was he who commanded on Lake Champlain, at the evacuation of Ticonderoga; a terrible clamour was raised against him on that occasion, and he was tried by a council of war, but honourably acquitted, not only because his retreat was attended with the best consequences—Burgoyne having been forced to capitulate—but because it was proved that he had been left in want of everything necessary for the defence of the post entrusted to him. He was born in Scotland, where he has still a family and property; he is esteemed a good officer, and, if the war continues, will certainly act a principal part in the army.

[Starting from Morristown on the 28th, they proceeded through New Jersey but on the solicitation of his escort, he sent his retinue forward on the direct road to Somerset Courthouse while he and Colonel Moyland turned aside to the home of the latter's father-in-law, Colonel Van Horn—a wealthy “merchant and cultivator passing the winter at New York and the summer in the country,” previous to the war. But since the war he had retired to his manor, always faithful to his country without rendering himself odious to the English. After being entertained at dinner they set out, now also accompanied by Captain Herne, a young cavalry officer, who was commended very highly for his horsemanship. They soon reach the Princetown road and come to the “banks of the Rariton.” They found the suite at Somerset Courthouse awaiting them. They immediately started forward spending the night at Greegtown where they slept at “Skilman's tavern, an indifferent inn, but kept by very obliging people.”]

Our next day's ride presented us with very interesting objects; we were to see two places which will be forever

dear to the Americans, since it was there the first rays of hope brightened upon them, to express it more properly, that the safety of the country was effected. These celebrated places are Prince-Town and Trenton. I shall not say I went to see them, for they lay precisely in the road. Let the reader judge then how much I was out of humour, on seeing so thick a fog rising, as to prevent me from distinguishing objects at fifty paces from me; but I was in a country where one must despair of nothing. The fortune of the day was like that of America; the fog suddenly dispersed and I found myself travelling on the right bank of the Millstone, in a narrow valley.

Two miles from Gregg-Town we quit this valley, and mount the highest of Rocky-Hill, where are a few houses. King's-Town is a mile farther, but still on the Millstone; the Maidenhead road ends here, and its communication is facilitated by a bridge built over the rivulet. It is here that General Washington halted after the affair of Prince-Town. After marching from midnight until two o'clock in the afternoon, almost continually fighting, he wished to collect the troops, and give them some rest; he knew, however, that Lord Cornwallis was following him on the Maidenhead road; but he contented himself with taking up some planks of the bridge, and as soon as he saw the vanguard of the English appear, he continued his march quietly towards Middlebrook. Beyond King's-Town, the country begins to open, and continues so to Prince-Town. This town is situated on a sort of platform not much elevated, but which commands on all sides; it has only one street formed by the right road; there are about sixty or eighty houses, all tolerably well built, but little attention is paid them, for that is immediately attracted by an immense building, which is visible at a considerable distance. It is a college built by the state of Jersey some years before

the war; as this building is only remarkable from its size, it is unnecessary to describe it; the reader will only recollect, when I come to speak of the engagement, that it is on the left of the road going to Philadelphia, that it is situated towards the middle of the town, on a distinct spot of ground, and that the entrance to it is by a large square court surrounded with lofty palisades. The object which excited my curiosity, though very foreign from letters at that moment, brought me to the very gate of the college. I dismounted for a moment to visit this vast edifice, and was soon joined by Dr. Witherspoon, President of the university. He is a man of at least sixty, is a member of Congress, and much respected in this country. In accosting me he spoke French, but I easily perceived that he had acquired his knowledge of that language, from reading, rather than conversation; which did not prevent me, however, from answering him, and continuing to converse with him in French, for I saw that he was well pleased to display what he knew of it. This is an attention which costs little, and is too much neglected in a foreign country. To reply in English to a person who speaks French to you, is to tell him you do not know my language so well as I do yours; in this, too, one is not unfrequently mistaken. As for me, I always like better to have the advantage on my side, and to fight on my own ground. I conversed in French, therefore, with the President, and from him I learnt that this college is a complete university; that it can contain two hundred students, and more, including the out-boarders; that the distribution of the studies is formed so as to make only one class for the humanities; which corresponds with our first four classes; that two others are destined to the perfecting the youth in the study of Latin and Greek; a fourth to natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, etc., and a fifth to moral Philosophy.



Parents may support their children at this college at the annual expence of forty guineas. Half of this sum is appropriated to lodgings and masters; the rest is sufficient for living, either in the college, or at board in private houses in the town. This useful establishment has fallen into decay since the war; there were only forty students when I saw it. A handsome collection of books had been made; the greatest part of which has been embezzled. The English even carried off from the chapel the portrait of the King of England, a loss for which the Americans easily consoled themselves, declaring they would have no King amongst them, not even a painted one. There still remains a very beautiful astronomical machine; but as it was then out of order, and differs in no respect from that I saw afterwards in Philadelphia, I shall take no notice of it. I confess also that I was rather anxious to examine the traces of General Washington, in a country where every object reminded me of his success. I passed rapidly therefore from Parnassus to the field of Mars, and from the hands of President Witherspoon into those of Colonel Moyland. They were both equally upon their own ground; so that while one was pulling me by the right arm, telling me, Here is the philosophy class; the other was plucking me by the left, to shew me where one hundred and eighty English laid down their arms.

Every person who, since the commencement of the war, has only given himself the trouble of reading the Gazettes, may recollect that General Washington surprised the town of Trenton the 25th of December, 1776; that, immediately after this expedition, he retired to the other side of the Delaware, but that having received a small addition to his force, he repassed the river a second time, and encamped at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis had now collected his troops, before dispersed, in winter quarters. He

marched against Washington, who was obliged to place the Assampik, or river of Trenton, between the enemy and him. By this means the town was divided between the two armies; the Americans occupying the left bank of the creek, and the English the right. Lord Cornwallis's army was receiving hourly reinforcements; two brigades from Brunswick were expected to join him, and he only waited their arrival to make the attack. General Washington, on the other hand, was destitute of provisions, and cut off from all communications with the fertile country of the Jerseys, and the four eastern states. Such was his position, when, on the second of January, at one o'clock in the morning, he ordered the fires to be well kept up, and some soldiers to be left to take care of them, whilst the remainder of the army should march by the right, to fall back afterwards on the left, pass the rear of the English army, and enter the Jerseys. It was necessary to throw themselves considerably to the right, in order to reach Allens-Town, and the sources of the Assampik, and then to fall on Prince-Town. About a mile from this town, General Washington's vanguard, on entering the main road, fell in with Colonel Mawhood, who was marching quietly at the head of his regiment on his way to Maidenhead, and thence to Trenton. General Mercer immediately attacked him, but was repulsed by the enemy's fire; he then attempted to charge with bayonet, but unfortunately, in leaping a ditch, was surrounded and put to the sword by the English. The troops, who were in general militia, discouraged by the loss of their commander, retreated into the woods, to wait for the remainder of the army, which arrived soon after; but Colonel Mawhood had continued his route to Maidenhead, so that General Washington had only to do with the forty-eighth regiment, part of which had appeared upon the main road on the first alarm of the attack. He

pushed these troops vigorously, dispersed them, and made fifty or sixty prisoners. General Sullivan, however, was advancing rapidly, leaving on his left the Prince-Town road, with the design of turning that town, and of cutting off the retreat of the troops, who occupied it, to Brunswick. Two hundred English had thrown themselves into a wood by which he was to pass, but they did not long hold it, and returned in disorder to Nassau-hall, the name of the college I have been speaking of. This they ought to have taken possession of, and have there made a vigorous defence. To all appearance their officers were bewildered, for instead of entering the house, or even the court, they remained in a sort of wide street, where they were surrounded and obliged to lay down their arms, to the number of one hundred and eighty, not including fourteen officers. As for General Washington, after taking or dispersing everything before him, he collected his troops, marched on to King's-Town, where he halted, as I have already mentioned, and continued his route towards Middlebrook; having thus marched near thirty miles in one day, but still regretting that his troops were too much fatigued to proceed to Brunswick, which he could have taken without any difficulty. Lord Cornwallis had now nothing left but to hasten thither as fast as possible with his whole army. From this moment, Pennsylvania was in safety, the Jerseys were evacuated, and the English reduced to the towns of Brunswick and Amboy, where they were obliged to act always on the defensive, not being able to stir, not ever to forage, without being driven back, and roughly handled by the militia of the country. Thus we see the great events of war are not always great battles, and humanity may receive some consolation from this sole reflection, that the art of war is not necessarily a sanguinary art, that the talents of the commanders spare the lives

of the soldiers, and that ignorance alone is prodigal of blood.

The affair of Trenton, when this originated, cost no dearer, and was perhaps more glorious, without being more useful. Addison said, in visiting the different monuments of Italy, that he imagined himself treading on classic ground; all my steps were on martial ground, and I was in the same morning to see two fields of battle. I arrived early at Trenton, having remarked nothing interesting on the road, unless it be the beauty of the country, which every where corresponds with the reputation of the Jerseys, called the garden of America. On approaching Trenton, the road descends a little, and permits one to see at the east end of the town the orchard where the Hessians hastily collected, and surrendered prisoners. This is almost all that can be said by the Gazettes on one side and the other. We know that General Washington, at the head only of three thousand men, passed the Delaware in dreadful weather, on the night of the 24th and 25th of December; that he divided his troops into two columns, one of which made a circuit to gain a road upon the left, leading to the Maidenhead-road, whilst the other marched along the river, straight to Trenton; that the main guard of the Hessians was surprised, and that the brigade has scarcely time to get under arms. The park of artillery was near a church; they were attempting to harness the horse, when the American vanguard, which had forced the piquet, fired on, and killed almost all of them. General Washington arrives with the right column; the Hessians were surrounded, and fired a few random shot, without order. General Washington suffered them to do so, but he availed himself of the first moment of the slackening of their fire, to send an officer who spoke French to them, for our language supplies the want of all others. The

Hessians hearkened very willingly to his proposal. The General promised that the effects they had left in their houses should not be pillaged, and they soon laid down their arms, which they had scarcely had time to take up. their position was certainly not a good one; nor can I conceive it possible that this could be a field of battle fixed upon in case of an alarm. They would have had a sure retreat by passing the bridge over the creek at the south end of the town, but the vanguard of the right column had got possession of it. Such, in a few words, was this event, which is neither honourable nor dishonourable for the Hessians; but which proves that no troops existing can be reckoned on, when they suffer themselves to be surprised.

[At four o'clock after separating regretfully from Colonel Moyland, he took the road to Bristol, crossing the river three miles below Trenton. It was night when he reached Bristol where he tarried at the inn of Mr. Benezet. Leaving Bristol on the 30th of November, he arrived in Philadelphia at two in the afternoon. The nearer he approached that city, the more he noticed the traces of war. "You imagine," says he, "you see the country after a storm, some trees are overthrown, but the others are still clothed with flowers and verdure." On all sides were evidences of the destructive occupation of the British. He dined at the house of Chevalier de la Luzerne, among whose guests was Mr. Governor Morris, "a young man full of wit and vivacity, but unfortunately maimed, having lost a leg by accident." General Mifflin was also in the company.]

After this dinner, which I may have possibly spun out too long, according to the custom of the country, the Chevalier de la Luzerne took me to make visits with him.

The first was Mr. Reed, President of the State. This post corresponds with that of Governor in the other pro-

vinces, but without the same authority; for the Government of Pennsylvania is purely democratic, consisting only of a General Assembly, or House of Commons, who name an executive Council, composed of twelve members possessing very limited powers, of the exercise of which they are obliged to give an account to the Assembly, in which they have no voice. Mr. Reed has been a General Officer in the American army, and has given proof of courage, having had a horse killed under him in the skirmish near White-marsh. It is he, whom Governor Johnstone attempted to corrupt in 1778, when England sent Commissioners to treat with Congress; but this attempt was confined to some insinuations, entrusted to Mrs. Ferguson. Mr. Reed, who is a sensible man, rather of an intriguing character, and above all eager of popular favour, made a great clamour, and published, and exaggerated the offers that were made him. The complaints of Mrs. Ferguson, who found herself committed in this affair, a public declaration of Governor Johnstone, whose object was to deny the facts, but which served only to confirm them; various charges, and refutations, printed and made public, produced no other effect than to second the views of Mr. Reed, and to make him attain his end, of playing a leading part in the country. Unfortunately his pretensions, or his interest, led him to declare himself the enemy of Dr. Franklin. When I was at Philadelphia, it was no less than matter of question to recall that respectable man; but the French party, or that of General Washington, or to express it still better, the really patriotic party prevailed, and the matter finished by sending an officer to France to represent the wretched state of the army, and to ask for an aid of clothes, tents, and money, of which it stood in much need. The choice fell on Colonel Laurens.

Mr. Reed has a handsome house, arranged and furnished in the English style. I found there Mrs. Washington, who had just arrived from Virginia, and was going to stay with her husband, as she does at the end of every campaign. She is about forty, or five and forty, rather plump, but fresh, and with an agreeable face. After passing a quarter of an hour at Mr. Reed's, we waited on Mr. Huntingdon, President of Congress. We found him in his cabinet, lighted by a single candle. This simplicity reminded me of that of the Fabricius's and the Philopemens. Mr. Huntingdon is an upright man, who espouses no party, and may be relied on. He is a native of Connecticut, and was Delegate for that state, when chosen President.

[The French Ambassador Luzerne saw to it that the writer secured agreeable quarters. He speaks of making calls first upon Mrs. Bache, daughter of Mr. Franklin, and especially dilates upon the loyal attitude of the women of Philadelphia who had bought material out of their own purses and provided shirts, etc., for the soldiers. Chastellux, much as he wondered at this, thinks the French women would probably be fully as devoted under similar circumstances.]

I hurried to make acquaintance with Mr. Morris. He is a very rich merchant, and consequently a man of every country, for commerce bears every where the same character. Under monarchies it is free; it is an egotist in republics; a stranger, or if you will, a citizen of the universe, it excludes alike the virtues and the prejudices that stand in the way of its interest. It is scarcely to be credited, that amidst the disaster of America, Mr. Morris, the inhabitant of a town just emancipated from the hands of the English, should possess a fortune of eight millions (between 3 and 400,000 l. sterling). It is, however, in the

most critical times that great fortunes are acquired. The fortunate return of several ships, the still more successful cruizes of his privateers, have increased his riches beyond his expectations, if not beyond his wishes. He is, in fact, so accustomed to the success of his privateers, that when he is observed on a Sunday to be more serious than usual, the conclusion is, that no prize has arrived in the preceding week. This flourishing state of commerce, at Philadelphia, as well as in Massachusetts bay, is entirely owing to the arrival of the French squadron.

The English have abandoned all their cruizes, to block it up at Newport, and in that they have succeeded ill, for they have not taken a single sloop coming to Rhode Island, or Providence. Mr. Morris is a large man, very simple in his manners; but his mind is subtle and acute, his head perfectly well organized, and he is as well versed in public affairs as in his own. He was a member of Congress in 1776, and ought to be reckoned among those personages who have had the greatest influence in the revolution of America. He is the friend of Dr. Franklin, and the decided enemy of Mr. Reed. His house is handsome, resembling perfectly the houses in London; he lives there without ostentation, but not without expence, for he spares nothing which can contribute to his happiness, and that of Mrs. Morris, to whom he is much attached. A zealous republican, and an Epicurean philosopher, he has always played a distinguished part at table and in business.

[On the 2nd of December, Chastellux made a detailed examination of the scene of the battle of Germantown. After reviewing the movements of the American troops, and especially the difficulties produced by the effective resistance of the British in the Stonehouse, he ventures some censure of the general plan of Washington but tempers it with the qualification that he was not present at



the battle and that if he had been perhaps his feelings would have been different. After his return from a survey of this battlefield in which he took keen interest, he with the French Ambassador went to dine with the Northern Delegates. "The Members of the Congress have a tavern to themselves, where they give frequent entertainments; but that the company may not be too numerous at a time, they divide themselves into two sets, and as we see very geographically; the line of demarkation being from east to west." (The translator notes that tendency seems likely to lead to a division of the states peaceful but permanent. He states that this opinion is gaining ground rapidly in Philadelphia.) Two delegates placed at each end, did the honours of the table. Mr. Duane, Deputy from the State of New York, occupied the side I was on. He also mentions Mr. Charles Thompson, Secretary of Congress, who mixes little with society but passed as very well informed.]

Mr. Samuel Adams, Deputy for Massachusetts Bay, was not at this dinner, but on rising from table I went to see him. When I entered his room, I found him *tete-a-tete* with a young girl of fifteen who was preparing his tea; but we shall not be scandalized at this, on considering that he is at least sixty. Everybody in Europe knows that he was one of the prime movers of the present revolution. I experienced in his company the satisfaction one rarely has in the world, nay even on the theatre, of finding the person of the actor corresponding with the character he performs. In him, I saw a man wrapt up in his object, who never spoke but to give a good opinion of his cause, and a high idea of his country. His simple and frugal exterior, seemed intended as a contrast with the energy and extent of his ideas, which were wholly turned towards the republic, and lost nothing of their warmth by being expressed with method and precision; as an army, marching towards

the enemy, has not a less determined air for observing the laws of tactics. Amongst many facts he cited in honour of his country, I shall relate one which merits to be transmitted to posterity. Two young soldiers had deserted from the army, and returned to their father's house. Their father, incensed at this action, loaded them with irons, and conducted them himself to their General, Lord Stirling. He did what every other officer would have done, in his place—pardoned them. The father, as patriotic, but less austere than a Roman, was happy to preserve his children; nevertheless he seemed astonished, and approaching the General, "My Lord," says he, with tears in his eyes, "'Tis more than I hoped for."—I quitted Mr. Adams with regret, but with a full intention of seeing him again, and my evening terminated by a visit to Colonel Bland, one of the Delegates for Carolina. He is a tall handsome man, who has been in the West-Indies, where he acquired French. He is said to be a good soldier, but at present serves his country, and serves it well, in Congress. The Southern Delegates, in fact, have great credit, they are incessantly labouring to draw the attention of the Government towards them, and to avert every idea of purchasing peace on their account.

The weather was so bad the third (December) that it was impossible to stir out. I had no reason to complain however of the employment of this day, which I passed either in conversation with M. de la Luzerne, and M. de Marbois, or in reading such interesting papers as they were pleased to communicate. Mr. Huntington having informed me, that the next day he would shew me the hall in which the Congress assembles, I went there at ten o'clock, and found him waiting for me accompanied by several Delegates. This hall is spacious, without magnificence; its handsomest ornament is the portrait of General Washing-

ton, larger than life. He is represented on foot, in that noble and easy attitude which is natural to him; cannon, colours, and all the attributes of war form the accessories of the picture. I was then conducted into the Secretary's hall, which has nothing remarkable but the manner in which it is furnished; the colours taken from the enemy serve by way of tapestry. From thence you pass to the library, which is pretty large, but far from being filled; the few books it is composed of, appear to be well chosen. It is in the town-house that Congress hold their meetings; this building is rather handsome; the staircase in particular is wide and noble; as to external ornaments, they consist only in the decoration of the gate, and in several tablets of marble placed above the windows. I remarked a peculiarity in the roof, which appeared new to me; the chimneys are bound to the two extremities of the building which is a long square, and are so constructed, as to be fastened together in the form of an arch, thus forming a sort of portico.

After taking leave of the President and Delegates, I returned to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, and as the streets were covered with ice, I staid at home, where I received a visit from Mr. Wilson,\* a celebrated lawyer, and author of several pamphlets on the present affairs. He has in his library all our best authors on public law and jurisprudence; the works of President Montesquieu, and of the Chancellor d'Aquessau, hold the first rank among them, and he makes them his daily study. After dinner, which was private and à la Françoise, I went to see Mrs. Bingham, a young and handsome woman, only seventeen: her husband, who was there, according to the American custom, is only five and twenty: he was Agent of Congress

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\*Mr. Wilson is a Scotchman, and is making a fortune rapidly in the profession of the law at Philadelphia. He is about four and forty, a man of real abilities, and Mr. Morris's intimate friend and conjuror in his aristocratic plans.—Translator.

at Martinica, from whence he is returned with a tolerable knowledge of French, and with much attachment to the Marquis de Bouille. I passed the remainder of the evening with Mrs. Powell, where I expected to have an agreeable conversation; in which I was not deceived, and forgot myself there till pretty late.

I went again to the Town-House, on the 5th, but it was to be present at the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania; for the hall, where this sort of parliament meets, is under the same roof with the Congress. I was with M. de la Fayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, M. de Gimat, and all the French, or Gallo-Americans, at Philadelphia. We seated ourselves on a bench opposite the speaker's chair: on his right was the President of the State, the Clerks placed at a long table before the Speaker. The debates turned on some misconduct, imputed to the Commissioners of the Treasury. The executive council were sent for and heard. General Mifflin was almost the only speaker; he delivered himself with grace and spirit, but with a marked intention of opposing the President of the State, who is not one of his friends. His manner of expressing himself, his gestures, his deportment, the air and ease of superiority he invariably assumed, perfectly reminded me of those members of the House of Commons who are accustomed to give the tone to others, and to make everything bend to their opinion. The affair not being terminated in the morning, the Speaker left the chair; the house went into a committee, and adjourned.

The morning was not far spent, and I had enough to employ it; I was expected in three places; by a lover of natural history, by an anatomist, and at the college, or rather university of Philadelphia. I began by the cabinet of natural history. This small and scanty collection, is greatly celebrated in America, where it is unrivalled; it

was formed by a painter of Geneva, called Cimetiere, a name better suited to a physician than a painter. This worthy man came to Philadelphia twenty years ago, to take portraits, and has continued there ever since; he lives there still as a bachelor, and a foreigner, a very common instance in America where men do not long remain without acquiring the titles of husband and citizen. What I saw most curious in this cabinet, was a large quantity of the vice, or screw, a sort of shell pretty common, within which a very hard stone, like jade, is exactly moulded. It appears clear to me, that these petrifications are formed by the successive accumulation of lapidific molecules conveyed by the waters, and assimilated by the assistance of fixed air. After fatiguing my legs, and satisfying my eyes, which is always the case in cabinets of natural history, I thought proper to quit the earth for heaven; or, in the vulgar style, I went to the library of the university, to see a very ingenious machine (an Orrery) representing all the celestial motions. I lose no time in declaring that I shall not give a description of it: for nothing is so tiresome as the description of any machine; it is enough for me to say, that one part of it gives a perfect view, on the vertical point, of all the motions of the planets in their own orbits; and that the other, which is designed only to represent that of the moon, displays, in the clearest manner, her phases, her nodes, and her different altitudes. The President of the college, and Mr. Rittenhouse, the inventor and maker of this machine, took the pains of explaining to me every particular; they seemed very happy that I knew English, and astronomy enough to understand them; on which I must observe, that the latter articles is more to the shame of the Americans than to my praise; the almanack being almost the only book of Astronomy studied at Philadelphia. Mr. Rittenhouse is of a German family, as his name au-

nounces; but he is a native of Philadelphia, and a watch-maker by profession. He is a man of great simplicity and modesty, and though not a mathematician of the class of the Eulers, and the D'Alemberts, knows enough of that science to be perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies. As for his mechanical talents, it is unnecessary to assign a reason for them; we know that of all others, they are less the result of study, and most generally the gift of nature; and it is a fact worthy of observation, that, notwithstanding the little connection to be perceived between that particular disposition and the delicacy of our senses, or the perfection of our organs, men are more frequently born mechanics, than painters and musicians. Education, nay, even the rigour of education, frequently makes great artists in the two latter; but there is no example of its making mechanical genius.

This morning seemed devoted to the sciences, and my walks were a sort of encyclopedia, for, on quitting the university library, I went to call upon a celebrated anatomist, called Dr. Showell. The following, in a few words, is his history: he was born in England upwards of seventy years ago. After studying medicine and surgery there he went to France to improve himself under M. Winslow. In 1734, he went to the West Indies, where he since practised medicine, sometimes at Barbadoes, sometimes at Jamaica; but is invariably a man of application and laborious. In the war of 1744, a prize being brought into Barbadoes, with a great deal of wax on board, Mr. Showell took this opportunity to make different anatomical experiments in wax, and he succeeded so well as to carry this art to the highest degree of perfection. On seeing him, one can with difficulty conceive how so much patience and perseverance could consist with his natural vivacity; for it seems as if the sun of the tropic had preserved in him all the heat of

youth; he speaks with fire, and expresses himself as well in French as if he were still in our schools of surgery. In other respects, he is a perfect original: his reigning taste is disputation; when the English were at Philadelphia he was a whig, and has become a tory since they left it; he is always fighting after Europe, without resolving to return, and declaiming constantly against the Americans, he still remains amongst them. His design in coming to the continent, was to recover his health, so as to enable him to cross the seas: this was about the commencement of the war; and, since that time, he imagines he is not at liberty to go, though no body prevents him. He was to me a greater curiosity than his anatomical preparations, which, however, appeared superior to those of Bologna, but inferior to the preparations of Mademoiselle Bieron; the wax having always a certain lustre which makes them less like nature.

At the end of this morning's walk I was like a bee, so laden with honey that he can hardly regain his hive. I returned to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's with my memory well stored, and after taking food for the body as well as mind, I dedicated my evening to society. I was invited to drink tea at Colonel Bland's, that is to say, to attend a sort of an assembly pretty much like the conversazzioni of Italy; for tea here is the substitute for the rinsresco. Mr. Howley, Governor of Georgia, Mr. Izard, Mr. Arthur Lee, (the two last lately arrived from Europe) M. de la Fayette, M. de Noailles, M. de Damas, etc., were of the party. The scene was decorated by several married and unmarried ladies, among whom, Miss Shippen, daughter of Dr. Shippen, and cousin of Mrs. Arnold, claimed particular distinction. Thus we see that in America the crimes of individuals are not reflected on their family; not only had Dr. Shippen's brother given his daughter to the

traitor Arnold, a short time before his desertion, but it is generally believed, that being himself a tory, he had inspired his daughter with the same sentiments, and the charms of this handsome woman contributed not a little to hasten to criminality a mind corrupted by avarice, before it felt the power of love.

On our return to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's we assembled all the French and Gallo-American military, and laid our plan for a very agreeable jaunt we took next day. At six in the morning, M. de la Fayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, the Chevalier du Plessis Mauduit, Messieurs de Gimat and De Neville, Aides de Camp of M. de la Fayette, M. de Montesquieu, Mr. Lynch, and myself, set out to visit the field of battle of Brandywine, thirty miles from Philadelphia. M. de la Fayette had not seen it, since at the age of twenty, separating from his wife, his friends, the pleasures of the world, and those of youth, at the distance of three thousand miles, he there shed the first drop of blood he offered to glory, or rather to the noble cause he has invariably supported with the same zeal, but with better fortune. We passed the Schuylkill at the same ferry where Mr. Du Coudray was drowned in 1777. We there discovered the traces of some entrenchments thrown up by the English after they became masters of Philadelphia; then turning to the left, we rode on fourteen miles to the little town of Chester. It is built at the junction of the creek of that name, with the Delaware, and is a sort of port where vessels coming up the river sometimes anchor. The houses, to the number of forty or fifty, are handsome and built of stone or brick. On leaving Chester, and on the road to Brandywine, we pass the stone bridge where M. de la Fayette, wounded as he was, stopped the fugitives, and made the first dispositions for rallying them behind the creek. The country beyond it has nothing



particular, but resembles the rest of Pennsylvania, that is to say, is interspersed with woods and cultivated lands. It was too late when we came within reach of the field of battle, and as we could see nothing till next morning, and were too numerous to remain together, it was necessary to separate into two divisions. Messieurs de Gimat, De Mauduit, and my two Aides de Camp, staid with me at an inn, three miles on this side of Brandywine; and M. de la Fayette, attended by the other trevellers, went further on to ask for quarters at a Quaker's, called Benjamin Ring, at whose house he lodged with General Washington the night before the battle. I joined him early the next morning, and found him in great friendship with his host, who, Quaker as he was, seemed delighted to entertain the Marquis. We got on horseback at nine, provided with a plan, executed under the direction of General Howe, and engraved in England; but we got more information from an American major, with whom M. de la Fayette had appointed a place of meeting. This officer was present at the engagement, and his house being on the field of battle, he knew it better than anybody.

We must recollect, that in 1777, the English having in vain attempted to cross the Jerseys to get to Philadelphia by land, were obliged to embark, and doubled the capes to reach the bay of Chesapeak, and the mouth of the river Elk. They arrived there the 25th of August, after a passage dreadful by sea, but fortunate in the bay, which they remounted with much less difficulty than they expected. Whilst the sea, the winds, and three hundred vessels were assisting the manœuvres of the enemy's army, Mr. Washington remained some days at Middlebrook, in one of the most embarrassing positions in which the general of an army can be placed. To the north, the troops of Burgoyne, after taking Ticonderoga, were advancing towards Albany;

to the south, an English army of fifteen thousand men were embarked, and might either proceed to Chesapeake bay, as they did, penetrate by the Delaware, or go up Hudson's River as far as Crest Point, to form a junction with Burgoyne, and cut off the American army, which from that moment would have been forever separated from the eastern and northern States. Of all the chances, this was certainly the most to be dreaded; accordingly General Washington did not abandon his position at Middlebrook, till he received certain intelligence that the enemy had doubled Cape May. Let us figure to ourselves the situation in which a general must find himself, when obliged to comprehend in his plan a defence, an immense country, and a vast extent of coast, he is at a loss to know, within one hundred and fifty miles, where the enemy is likely to appear; and having no longer any intelligence of them, either by patrols, or detachments, or even by couriers, is reduced to the necessity of observing the compass, and of consulting the winds, before he can form any resolution. As soon as the movement of the enemy was decided, General Washington lost no time in marching his army; I should rather say his soldiers, for a number of soldiers, however considerable, does not always form an army. His was composed of at most 12,000 men. It was at the head of these troops, the greatest part of them now levies, that he traversed in silence the city of Philadelphia, whilst the Congress were giving him orders to fight, yet removing their archives and public papers into the interior parts of the country; a sinister presage of the success which must follow their council.

The army passed the Schuylkill, and occupied a first camp near Wilmington, on the banks of the Delaware. This position had a double object, for the ships of war, after convoying General Howe to the river Elk, had fallen

down the bay of the Chesapeake, remounted the Delaware, and seconded by some troops landed from the fleet, appeared inclined to force the passages of that river. General Washington, however, soon perceived that the position he had taken became every day more dangerous. The English, having finished their debarkation, were ready to advance into the country; his flank was exposed, and he left uncovered, at once, Philadelphia and the whole county of Lancaster. It was determined therefore that the army should repass the Creek of Brandywine, and encamp on the left bank of that river. The position made choice of, was certainly the best that could be taken to dispute the passage. The left was very good, and supported by thick woods extending as far as the junction of the creek with the Delaware. As it approaches its conflux, this creek becomes more and more embanked, and difficult to ford; the heights are equal on the two banks; but for this reason the advantage was in favour of him who defended the passage. A battery of cannon with a good parapet, was pointed towards Chaddsford, and everything appeared in safety on that side; but to the right the ground was so covered, that it was impossible to judge of the motions of the enemy, and to keep in a line with them, in case they should attempt, as they did, to detach a corps by their left, to pass the river higher up. The only precaution that could be taken was to place five or six brigades in steps from each other, to watch that manœuvre. General Sullivan had the command of them; he received orders to keep in a line with the enemy, should they march by their left; and on the supposition that they would unite their forces on the side of Chaddsford, he was himself to pass the river, and make a powerful diversion on their flank.

When a general has foreseen everything, when he has made the best possible dispositions, and his activity, his

judgment, and his courage in the action correspond with the wisdom of his measures, has he not already triumphed in the eyes of every impartial judge? and if by any unforeseen accidents, the laurels he had merited drop from his hands, is it not the historian's duty carefully to collect, and replace them on his brow? Let us hope that history will acquit herself of this duty better than us, and let us see how much wise dispositions were disconcerted by the mistakes of some officers, and the inexperience of the troops.

The 11th of September, 1777, General Howe occupied the heights on the right of the creek; he there formed a part of his troops in line of battle, and prepared some batteries opposite Chaddsford, whilst his light troops were attacking and driving before them a corps of riflemen, who had passed over to the right bank more closely to observe his motions. General Washington seeing the cannonade continue, without any disposition of the enemy to pass the river, concluded they had another object. He was informed that a great part of their army had marched higher up the creek, and were threatening his right; he felt the importance of keeping an attentive eye on all the movements of this corp; but the country was so covered with thickets, that the patrols could discover nothing. It must be observed that General Washington had a very small number of horses, and those he had sent to the right, towards Dilworth, to make discoveries on that side. He ordered an officer of whom he had a good opinion, to pass the river, and inform himself accurately of the route Lord Cornwallis was taking; for it was he who commanded this separate corps. The officer returned, and assured him that Cornwallis was marching by his right to join Kynphausen, on the side of Chaddsford. According to this report, the attack seemed to be determined on the left. An-

other officer was then sent, who reported that Cornwallis had changed his direction, and that he was rapidly advancing by the road leading to Jefferies Ford, two miles higher than Birmingham Church. General Sullivan was immediately ordered to march thither with all the troops of the right. Unfortunately the roads were badly reconnoitred, and not at all open: with great difficulty General Sullivan got through the woods, and when he came out of them to gain a small eminence near Birmingham Church, he found the English columns mounting it on the opposite side. It was no easy matter to range into order of battle such troops as his; he had neither the time to choose his position, nor to form his line. The English gained the eminence, drove the Americans back on the woods, to the edge of which they pursued them, and they were totally dispersed.

During the short time this action lasted, Lord Stirling and General Conway had time to form their brigade on pretty advantageous ground; it was a gentle rising, partly covered by the woods which bounded it; their left was protected by the same woods, and on the right of this rising ground, but a little in the rear, was the Virginia line, who were ranged in line of battle, on a high spot of ground, and on the edge of an open wood. The left column of the enemy, who had not been engaged with Sullivan, formed rapidly, and marched against these troops with as much order as vivacity and courage. The Americans made a very smart fire, which did not check the English, and it was not till the latter were within twenty yards of them, that they gave way, and threw themselves into the woods. Lord Stirling, M. de la Fayette, and General Sullivan himself, after the defeat of his division fought with this body of troops, whose post was the most important, and made the longest resistance. It was here that M. de la Fayette

was wounded in his left leg, in rallying the troops who were beginning to stagger. On the right, the Virginia line made some resistance; but the English had gained a height, from whence their artillery took them *en echarpe*: this fire must have been very severe, for most of the trees bear the mark of bullets or cannon shot. The Virginians in their turn gave way, and the right was then entirely uncovered.

Though this was three miles from Chaddsford, General Knyphausen heard the firing of the artillery, and musquetry, and judging that the affair was serious, the confidence he had in the English and Hessian troops, made him conclude they were victorious. Towards five in the evening, he descended from the heights in two columns, one at John's Ford, which turned the battery of the Americans, and the other lower down at Chaddsford. The latter marched straight to the battery and took it. General Wayne, whose brigade was in the line of battle, the left on an eminence, and the right drawing towards the battery, then made that right fall back, and strengthened the heights, thus forming a sort of change of front. In a country where there are neither open columns, nor successive positions to take, in case of accident, it is difficult to make any disposition for retreat. The different corps who had been beaten, all precipitated themselves into the Chester Road, where they formed but one column; artillery, baggage, and troops being confusedly mixed together. At the beginning of the night General Washington also took this road, and the English, content with their victory, did not disturb their retreat.

Such is the idea I have formed of the battle of Brandywine, from what I have heard from General Washington himself, from M. de la Fayette, Messieurs de Gimat, and de Manduit, and from the Generals Wayne and Sullivan. I

must observe, however, that there is a disagreement in some particulars; several persons, for example, pretend that Knyphausen, after passing the river, continued his march in one column to the battery, and it is thus marked in the English plan, which gives a false direction of that column; besides that General Washington and General Wayne assured me there were two, and that the left column turned the battery, which otherwise would not have been carried. It is equally difficult to trace out on the plan, all the ground on which Cornwallis fought. The relations on both sides throw hardly any light upon it; I was obliged therefore to draw my conclusions from the different narratives, and to follow none of them implicitly.

Whilst we were examining the field of battle with the greatest minuteness, our servants went on the Chester to prepare dinner and apartments, but we soon followed them, and got there at four o'clock. The road did not appear long to me; for chance having separated M. de la Fayette, M. de Noailles, and myself from the rest of the company, we entered into a very agreeable conversation, which continued till we got to Chester. I could not help observing to them that after talking of nothing but war for three hours, we had suddenly changed the subject, and got on that of Paris, and all sorts of discussions relative to our private societies. This transition was truly French, but it does not prove that we are less fond of war, than other nations, only that we like our friends better. We were scarcely arrived at Chester, before we saw some State barges or boats coming down the river, which the President had sent to conduct us back to Philadelphia, it being our plan to remount the Delaware next day, in order to examine the Fort of Redbank, and Fort Mifflin, as well as the other posts which had served for the defence of the river. An officer of the American navy who was come with

these barges, to conduct us, informed us that two vessels were arrived at Philadelphia in thirty-five days from L'Orient. The hopes of receiving letters or news from Europe, almost tempted us to relinquish our projects, and set out immediately for Philadelphia; but as the weather was fine, and we should have the tide in our favour next day, which rendered our voyage more easy, we determined to remain at Chester, and M. de la Fayette sent off a man and a horse to Philadelphia, to bring back news, and letters, if there were any. This courier returned before nine; and only brought us a line from the Chevalier de la Luzerne, by which we learnt that these ships had no letters; but that the captains assured him, that Monsieur de Castries was made minister of the marine.

[He and his companions crossed over the Delaware to Billingsport and then proceeded to Fort Mifflin on the Jersey side of the river. He mentions Mud Island and describes Hog Island and describes in detail the unfortunate incidents in this region in connection with the plans which required a re-crossing of the Delaware. He takes great delight in describing the defeat of the Hessians in this region. Recalling himself from this extended description, he hastened his return to Philadelphia. He had only time to dress himself to attend the Chevalier de la Luzerne and the companions of his journey, to dinner at Mr. Huntingdon's, the President of Congress. He did not long remain after the dinner but sought "a little snug rendezvous with Mr. Samuel Adams."]

We had promised ourselves at our last interview to set an evening apart for a tranquil *tete-a-tete*, and this was the day appointed. Our conversation commenced with a topic of which he might have spared himself the discussion: the justice of the cause he was engaged in. I am



clearly of opinion that the parliament of England had no right to tax America without her consent, but I am more clearly convinced that when a whole people say we will be free, it is difficult to demonstrate they are in the wrong. Be that as it may, Mr. Adams very satisfactorily proved to me, that New England, comprehending the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, were not peopled with any view to commerce and aggrandisement, but wholly by individuals who fled from persecution, and sought an asylum at the extremity of the world, where they might be free to live, and follow their opinions; that it was of their own accord, that those new colonists put themselves under the protection of England; that the mutual relationship, springing from this connection, was expressed in their characters, and the right of imposing, or exacting revenue of any kind was not comprized in them.

From this subject we passed to a more interesting one; the form of government which should be given to each State; for it is only on account of the future, that it is necessary to take a retrospect of the past. The Revolution has taken place, and the republic has taken place, and the republic is beginning; it is an infant newly born, the question is how to nourish, and rear it to maturity. I expressed to Mr. Adams some anxiety for the foundations on which the new constitutions are formed, and particularly that of Massachusetts. Every citizen, said I, every man who pays taxes, has a right to vote in the election of Representatives, who form the legislative body, and who may be called the sovereign power. All this is very well for the present moment, because every citizen is pretty equally at his ease, or may be so in a short time; but the success of commerce, and even agriculture, will introduce riches amongst you, and riches will produce inequality of

fortunes, and of property. Now, wherever this inequality exists, the real force will invariably be on the side of property; so that if the influence in government be not proportioned to that property, there will always be a contrariety, a combat between the form of government, and its natural tendency, the right will be on one side, and the power on the other; the balance then only can exist between the two equally dangerous extremes, of aristocracy and anarchy. Besides, the ideal worth of men must ever be comparative; an individual without property is a discontented citizen, when the State is poor; place a rich man near him, he dwindles into a clown. What will result then, one day, from vesting the right of election in this class of citizens? The source of civil broils, or corruption, perhaps both at the same time. The following was pretty nearer the answer of Mr. Adams. I am very sensible of the force of your objections; we are not what we should be, we should labour rather for the future, than for the present moment. I build a country house, and have infant children; I ought doubtless to construct their apartments with an eye to the time in which they shall be grown up and married: but we have not neglected this precaution. In the first place, I must inform you, that this new constitution was proposed and agreed to in the most legitimate manner of which there is an example since the days of Lycurgus. A committee chosen from the members of the legislative body, then existing, and which might be considered as a provisional government, was named to prepare a new code of laws. As soon as it was prepared, each county or district was required to name a committee to examine this plan: it was recommended to them to send it back at the expiration of a certain time, with their observations. These observations having been discussed by the committee, and the necessary alterations made, the plan was sent back to each particular

committee. When they had all approved it, they received orders to communicate it to the people at large, and to demand their suffrages. If two-thirds of the voters approved it, it was to have the force of law, and be regarded as the work of the people themselves; of two and twenty thousand suffrages, a much greater proportion than two-thirds was in favour of the new constitution. Now these were the principles on which it was established: a State is never free but when each citizen is bound by no law whatever that he has not approved of, either himself, or by his representatives; but to represent another man, it is necessary to have been elected by him; every citizen therefore should have a part in elections. On the other hand, it would be in vain for the people to possess the right of electing representatives, were they restrained in the choice of them to a particular class; it is necessary therefore not to require too much property as a qualification for the representative of the people. Accordingly the House of Representatives, which form the legislative body, and the true sovereign, are the people themselves represented by their delegates. Thus far the government is purely democratical; but it is the permanent and enlightened will of the people which should constitute law, and not the passions and sallies to which they are too subject. It is necessary to moderate their first emotions, and bring them to the test of inquiry and reflection. This is the important business entrusted with the Governor and Senate, who represent with us the negative power, vested in England in the upper-house, and even in the crown, with this difference only, that in our new constitution the Senate has a right to reject a law, and the Governor to suspend the promulgation, and return it for a reconsideration; but these forms complied with, if, after this fresh examination, the people persist in their resolution, and there is then, not as before, a mere major-

ity, but two-thirds of the suffrages in favour of the law, the Governor and Senate are compelled to give it their sanction. Thus this power moderates, without destroying the authority of the people, and such is the organization of our Republic, as to prevent the springs from breaking by too rapid a movement, without ever stopping them entirely. Now, it is here we have given all its weight to property. A man must have a pretty considerable property to vote for a member of the Senate; he must have a more considerable one to be himself eligible. Thus the democracy is pure and entire in the assembly, which represents the sovereign; and the aristocracy, or, if you will, the optimacy, is to be found only in the moderating power, where it is the more necessary, as men ever watch more carefully over the State when they have a great interest in its destiny. As to the power of commanding armies, it ought neither to be vested in a great, nor even in a small number of men; the Governor alone can employ the forces by sea and land according to the necessity; but the land forces will consist only in the militia, which, as it is composed of the people themselves, can never act against the people.

Such was the idea Mr. Adams gave me of his own work, for it is he who had the greatest part in the formation of the new laws. It is said, however, that before his credit was employed to get them accepted, it was necessary to combat his private opinion, and to make him abandon systems in which he loved to stray, for less sublime, but more practicable projects. This citizen, otherwise so respectable, has been frequently reproached with consulting his library, rather than the present circumstances, and of always beginning by the Greeks and Romans, to get at the whigs and tories; if this be true, I shall only say that study has also its inconveniences, but not such as are important, since Mr. Samuel Adams, heretofore the enemy of regular

troops, and the most extravagant partisan of the democracy, at present employs all his influence to maintain an army, and to establish a mixed government. Be that as it may, I departed well content with this conversation, which was only interrupted by a glass of Madeira, a dish of tea, and an old American General, now a member of Congress, who lodges with Mr. Adams.

I knew that there was a ball at the Chevalier de la Luzeren's which made me less in a hurry to return thither; it was, however, a very agreeable assembly; for it was given to a private society, on the occasion of a marriage. There were near twenty women, twelve or fourteen of whom were dancers; each of them having her partner, as is the custom in America. Dancing is said to be at once the emblem of gaiety and of love; here it seems to be the emblem of legislation, and of marriage; of legislation, inasmuch as places are marked out, the country dances named, and every proceeding provided for, calculated, and submitted to regulation; of marriage, as it furnishes each lady with a partner, with whom she dances the whole evening, without being allowed to take another. It is true that every severe law requires mitigation, and that it often happens, that a young lady after dancing the two or three first dances with her partner, may make a fresh choice, or accept of the invitation she has received; but still the comparison holds good, for it is a marriage in the European fashion. Strangers have generally the privilege of being complimented with the handsomest women. The Comte de Damas had Mrs. Bingham for his partner, and the Vicomte de Noailles, Miss Shippen. Both of them, like true philosophers, testified a great respect for the manners of the country, by not quitting their handsome partners the whole evening; in other respects they were the admiration of all the assembly; from the grace and nobleness with which they danced; I

may even assert, to the honour of my country, that they surpassed a Chief Justice of Carolina (Mr. Pendleton) and two members of Congress, one of whom (Mr. Duane) passed however for being ten per cent. more lively than all the other dancers. The ball was suspended, towards midnight, by a supper, served in the manner of coffee, on several different tables. On passing into the dining-room, the Chevalier de la Luzerne presented his hand to Mrs. Morris, and gave her the precedence, an honour pretty generally bestowed on her, as she is the richest woman in the city, and all ranks here being equal, men follow their natural bent, by giving the preference to riches. The ball continued till two in the morning, as I learnt the next morning on rising, for I had seen too many attacks and battles the day before not to have learnt to make a timely retreat.

[Chastellux had several interesting conversations with the Quakers who, with all their generally amiable qualities, did not seem to stand well in the community from a patriotic point of view, and seems impelled to satisfy his curiosity by seeing how the different "sects" conduct themselves.]

On Sunday, the 10th, I had resolved to make a circuit through the churches, and different places of worship. Unluckily the different sects, who agree in neither point, take the same hour to assemble the faithful, so that in the morning I was only able to visit the Quakers meeting, and in the afternoon the church of England. The hall the Quakers meet in is square; there are, on every side, and parallel with the walls, benches and desks, by which means they are placed opposite to each other, without either altar or pulpit to attract attention. As soon as they are assembled, one of the more elderly makes an extempore prayer, of whatever comes uppermost in his mind; silence is then observed

until some man or woman feels inspired, and rises to speak. Travellers must be taken at their word, however extraordinary their motives. Like Ariosto, I shall recount prodigies, *diro maraviglia*; but it is a fact that I arrived at the moment a woman was done holding forth; she was followed by a man who talked a great deal of nonsense about internal, the illumination of the spirit, and the other dogmas of his sect, which he bandied about, but took special care not to explain them; and at length finished his discourse to the great content of the brethren, and the sisterhood, who had all of them a very inattentive and listless air. After seven or eight minutes of silence, an old man went on his knees, dealt us out a very unmeaning prayer, and dismissed the audience.

On quitting this melancholy, homespun assembly, the service of the English church appeared to me a sort of opera, as well for the music as the decorations: a handsome pulpit placed before a handsome organ; a handsome minister in that pulpit, reading, speaking, and singing with a grace entirely theatrical, a number of young women answering melodiously from the pit and boxes, (for the two side galleries form a sort of boxes) a soft and agreeable vocal music, with excellent sonatas, played alternately on the organ; all this, compared to the Quakers, the Anabaptists, the Presbyterians, etc., appeared to me rather like a little paradise itself, than as the road to it. If, however, we consider the different sects, whether rigid, or frivolous, but all imperious, all exclusive, we think we see men reading in the great book of nature, like Montauciel at his lesson, when instead of *vous etes un blanc bec*, he persists in repeating *trompette blesse*. It is a milliom to one that a man should hit upon a line of writing without knowing how to spell his letters: but should he come to ask your

assistance, beware how you meddle with him; it is better to leave him in his error than to cut throats with him.

I shall only mention my dinner this day at Mrs. Powell's to say that it was excellent and agreeable in every respect. The conversation carried us so far into the evening, that it was near eleven when I returned home.

M. de la Fayette had made a party with the Vicomte de Noallies and the Comte de Damas, to go the next morning, first to German-Town (which the two latter had not yet seen), and from thence to the old camp at Whitemarsh. Though I had already viewed the former, I had no objection to going over it a second time, besides that I was curious to see the complete Whitemarsh. It is that which was occupied by General Washington after the unsuccessful attempt of the 7th of October. As this was a bold position which the English never dared to attack, it is very celebrated in the American army, where they assert that they had no other entrenchment than two redoubts. The fact is, that the position is excellent, and does great honour to General Washington, who could discover it, as if by instinct, through those woods with which the country was then covered; but it is no less true, that General Howe had every reason for not attacking it, and, amongst others, for the following: descending from the heights of German-Town, there are very thick woods; on coming out of them, to the west, is a pretty high hill, the foot of which is watered by a rivulet, with steep banks, which turns towards the north and protects the right of the camp. Six pieces of cannon were placed on this eminence, with four hundred men, who formed an advanced pion. It is called Chestnut-Hill, from a little church of that name, situated on its summit; behind this eminence, and behind the woods which stretch from east to west, the ground rises considerably, and forms two hills with a gentle declivity, which



commands Chestnut Church ; here the army was encamped. These hills are only separated by a small bottom ; each summit was fortified with a redoubt, and the slope of it defended by an abattis. The hill on the left was still further protected by a rivulet, which might be increased at pleasure, as it ran behind the camp, and it was easy to make the dams necessary for raising the waters. The front of this position, 'tis true, is covered with wood ; but these woods terminate at three hundred yards from the line formed abreast ; an enemy therefore must have come out of them uncovered, and how get through a wood where there is no road, and which was filled with militia and riflemen ? I pointed out the more minutely all the advantages of this position, that I might amuse myself in exaggerating them to M. de la Fayette, to convince him that he was a Gascon as well as the rest of them. He owned to me that the camp was a good one, and that if the English had given them room for pleasantry, it was only by inserting in their relations that the Rebels were so well entrenched that it was impossible to attack them. But we were unanimous in our conclusion, that the more respectable this position was, the more honour it did to General Washington, who had divined, rather than discovered it. This was really an eagle's eye view, for it seems as if he must have hovered above the trees to examine the ground concealed by them.

Having taken our view, we returned briskly to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, where dinner came very apropos, after being eight hours on horseback, and riding six and thirty miles. In the afternoon we drank tea with Miss Shippen. This was the first time, since my arrival in America, that I had seen music introduced into society, and mix with its amusements. Miss Rutledge played on the harpsichord, and played very well. Miss Shippen sung with timidity, but with a pretty voice. Mr. Ottaw, secre-

tary to M. de la Luzerne, sent for his harp; he accompanied Miss Shippen, and played several pieces. Music naturally leads to dancing: the Vicomte de Noailles took down a violin, which was mounted with harp strings, and he made the young ladies dance, whilst their mothers and other grave personages chatted in another room. When music, and the fine arts come to prosper at Philadelphia; when society once becomes easy and gay there, and they learn to accept of pleasure when it presents itself, without a formal invitation, then may foreigners enjoy all the advantages peculiar to their manners and government, without envying anything in Europe.

The 12th, in the morning, a new cavalcade, and a new reconnoitring party, M. de la Fayette was to do the honours of this. The just interest he inspires, has given still more celebrity to an event, of itself singular enough. The alliance with France being already public in June, 1778, it seemed probable that the English would not delay the evacuation of Philadelphia. In this state of things, though it was General Washington's business to risque nothing it was important nevertheless to watch the motion of the enemy. M. de la Fayette received orders to march from Valley Forge, with two thousand infantry, fifty dragoons, and as many savages, to pass the Schuylkill, and take a post on a height called Barrenhill, about twelve miles distant from Philadelphia. The position was critical, he might be attacked, or turned, by three different roads; but M. de la Fayette guarded the most direct of the three; a brigadier-general of militia, named Potter, had orders to watch the second, and patroles kept an eye upon the third, which was the most circuitous. Though these precautions seemed sufficient at first sight, they must not have been deemed so by General Howe; for he thought he had now fairly caught the Marquis, and even carried his gasconade

so far as to invite ladies to meet him at supper the next day, and whilst the principal part of the officers were at the play, he put in movement the main body of his forces, which he marched in three columns. The first, commanded by General Howe in person, took the direct road to Barrenhill, passing Schuylkill Falls, and keeping along the river; the second, led by General Grey, kept the high road of German-Town, and was to fall on M. de la Fayette's left flank; the third, under the orders of General Grant, made a long circuit, marching first by Frankfort, then turning upon Oxford, to reach the only ford by which the Americans could retreat.

This complicated march was executed the more easily, as the English had positive intelligence that the militia did not occupy the post assigned them. Fortunately for M. de la Fayette, two officers had set out early from the camp to go into the Jerseys, where they had business; these officers having successively fallen in with two columns of the enemy, resolved to return to the camp through the woods, as quick as possible. General Howe's column was not long in reaching the advanced posts of M. de la Fayette; which gave rise to a laughable enough adventure. The fifty savages he had with him, were placed in an ambuscade, in the woods, after their manner, that is to say, lying as close as rabbits. Fifty English dragoons, who had never seen any Indians, marching at the head of the column, entered the wood where they were hid, who on their part had never seen dragoons. Up they start raising a horrible cry, throw down their arms, and escape by swimming across the Schuylkill. The dragoons, on the other hand, as much terrified as they were, turned about their horses, and did not recover their panic till they got back to Philadelphia. M. de la Fayette, now finding that he was turned, concluded very justly like a warrior, that the

column marched against him would not be the first to make the attack, and that it would wait till the other was in readiness. He immediately changed his front, therefore, and took a good position opposite the second column, having before him Barrenhill church, and behind him the opening which served as a retreat. But he had scarcely occupied this position, before he learnt that General Grant was on his march to the Schuylkill Ford, and was already nearer to it than himself. Nothing remained but to retreat: but the only road he had, made him approach the column of General Grant, and exposed him to be attacked by it in front, whilst Grey and Howe fell upon his rear. The road, 'tis true, soon turning to the left, became separated by a small valley from that General Grant was on, but this valley itself was crossed by several roads, and it must, in short, be traversed to reach the Ford. In this situation, his own greatness of mind alone suggested to the young soldier the proper conduct, as well as consummate experience could possibly have done. He knew that more honour is lost, than time gained, in converting a retreat into flight. He continued his march, therefore, in so tranquil and regular an order, that he imposed on General Grant, and made him believe, that he was sustained by Washington's whole army, which was waiting for him at the end of the defile. On the other hand, Howe himself, on arriving on the heights of Barrenhill, was deceived by the first manœuvre of M. de la Fayette; for seeing the Americans in line of battle, on the very spot where the second column was to appear, he imagined it was General Grey who had got possession of this position, and thus lost some minutes in looking through his glass, and in sending to reconnoitre. General Grey also lost time in waiting for the right and left columns. From all these mistakes it followed, that M. de la Fayette had the opportunity of effecting his re-

treat, as if by enchantment, and he passed the river with all his artillery without losing a man. Six alarm guns, which were fired at the army, on the first news of this attack, served, I believe, to keep the enemy in awe, who imagined the whole American army were in march. The English, after finding the bird flown, returned to Philadelphia, spent with fatigue, and ashamed of having done nothing. The ladies did not see M. de la Fayette, and General Howe himself arrived too late for supper.

In reciting this affair, I give at the same time an account of my ride, for I followed the exact road of the left column, which leads to Schuylkill Falls, where there is a sort of scattered village, composed of several beautiful country houses; amongst others, that of the Chevalier de la Luzerne. A small creek which fall into the Schuylkill, the height of ten or twelve feet, the mills turned by this creek, the trees which cover its banks, and those of the Schuylkill, form a most pleasing landscape, which would not escape the pencil of Robert and Le Prince.

Nothing can equal the beauties of the coup d' œil which the banks of the Schuylkill present, in descending towards the south to return to Philadelphia.

I found a pretty numerous company assembled at dinner at the Chevalier de la Luzerne's which was augmented by the arrival of the Comte de Custine and the M. de Laval. In the evening we took them to see the President of the Congress, who was not at home, and then to Mr. Peters, the Secretary to the Board of War, to whom it was my first visit. His house is not large, nor his office of great importance; for every thing which is not in the power of the general of the army, depends on each particular State, much more than on Congress; but he possesses what is preferable to all the departments in the world, an amiable wife, (the Marquis might have added, very beautiful) ex-

cellent health, a good voice, and great gaiety and humour. We conversed some time together, and he spoke of the American army with as much freedom as good sense. He confessed that formerly their army knew no discipline, and he insisted strongly on the obligations they owed to the Baron de Soeuben, who performed the duties of Inspector-General. Passing them to the eulogium of Messieurs de Fleury, du Portal, and all the French officers who had served in the late campaigns, he observed, that those who offered their service at the beginning, had not given a very advantageous idea of their country. They were almost all furnished, however, with letters of recommendation from the governors or commandants of our colonies; in which they seem to me very reprehensible. The weakness which prevents men from refusing a letter of recommendation, or the desire of getting rid of a good for nothing fellow, continually gets the better of justice and good faith; we deceive, we expose the reputation of our allies, but we still more essentially betray the interests of our country, whose honour and character are thus shamefully prostituted.

I shall only speak of Mr. Price, with whom we drank tea and spent the evening to bear witness to the generosity of this gallant man, who, born in Canada and always attached to the French, lent two hundred thousand livres, hard money, to M. de Corny, whom the court had sent with fifty thousand livres only to make provision for our army.

The 13th, I went with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and the French travellers, to dine with the Southern Delegates. Messieurs Sharp, Flowy, and Maddison, were the nearest to me; I conversed a great deal with them, and was much satisfied with their conversation. But I was still more so with that I had in the afternoon at Mrs. Meredith's, General Cadwallander's daughter; this was the first

time I had seen this amiable family, although the Chevalier de la Luzerne was very intimate with them; but they had only just arrived from the country, where General Cadwallander was still detained by business. It is this gentleman who had a duel with Mr. Chace, formerly a Delegate for Maryland, and severely wounded him in the jaw with a pistol shot. Mrs. Meredith has three of four sisters, or sisters-in-law. I was astonished at the freedom and gaiety which reigned in this family, and regretted not having known them sooner. I chattered more particularly with Mrs. Meredith, who appeared to me very amiable and well informed. In the course of an hour we talked of literature, poetry, romances, and above all, history: I found she knew that of France very well; the comparison between Francis I. and Henry IV. between Turenne and Gonde, Richelieu and Mazarine, seemed familiar to her, and she made them with much grace, wit, and understanding. Whilst I was talking with Mrs. Meredith, Mr. Lynch had got possession of Miss Polly Cadwallander, who had likewise made a conquest of him, insomuch that the Chevalier de la Luzerne was much entertained at the enthusiasm with which this company inspired us, and the regret we expressed at not having become sooner acquainted with them. It must be acknowledged, with regard to the ladies who compose it, that none of them is what may be called handsome; the mode of expression, is, perhaps, a little too circuitous for the American women, but if they have wit enough to comprehend, and good sense enough to be flattered with it, their eulogium will be complete.

I know not how it happened, that since my arrival in Philadelphia, I had not yet seen Mr. Payne, that author so celebrated in America, and throughout Europe, by his excellent work, entitled *Common Sense*, and several other political pamphlets. Mr. de la Fayette and I had asked

the permission of an interview for the 14th in the morning, and we waited on him accordingly with Colonel Laurens. I discovered, at his apartments, all the attributes of a man of letters; a room pretty much in disorder, dusty furniture, and a large table covered with books lying open, and manuscripts begun. His person was in a correspondent dress, nor did his physiognomy belie the spirit that reigns throughout his works. Our conversation was agreeable and animated, and such as to form a connection between us, for he has written to me since my departure, and seems desirous of maintaining a constant correspondence. His existence at Philadelphia is similar to that of those political writers in England, who have obtained nothing, and have neither credit enough in the State, nor sufficient political weight to obtain a part in the affairs of government. Their works are read with more curiosity than confidence, their projects being regarded as the play of imagination, than as well concerted plans, and sufficient in credit ever to produce any real effect: theirs is always considered as the work of an individual, and not that of a party; information may be drawn from them, but not consequences; accordingly we observe, that the influence of these authors is more felt in the satirical, than in the dogmatical style, as it is easier for them to decry other men's opinions than to establish their own. This is more than the case with Mr. Payne than anybody; for having formerly held a post in government, he has now no connection with it; and as his patriotism and his talents are unquestionable, it is natural to conclude that the vivacity of his imagination, and the independence of his character, render him more calculated for reasoning on affairs, than for conducting them.\*

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\*Mr. Payne has since written a very interesting pamphlet on the finances of America, entitled, the Crisis; an answer to the History of the American Revolution.



Another literary man, as much respected, though less celebrated, expected us at dinner; this was Mr. Wilson, whom I have already mentioned: his house and library are in the best order; he gave us an excellent dinner, and received us with a plain and easy politeness. Mrs. Wilson did the honours of the table with all possible attention; but we were particularly sensible to the mark of it she gave us, by retiring after the desert, for then the dinner assumed an air of gaiety. Mr. Peters, the minister at war, gave the signal of joy and liberty by favouring us with a song of his composition, so jolly and so free, that I shall dispense with giving either a translation, or an extract. This was really a very excellent song. He then sung another more chaste, and more musical; a very fine Italian Contabile. Mr. Peters is, unquestionably, the minister of the two worlds, who has the best voice, and who sings the best, the pathetic and the bouffon. I was told that the preceding year there were some private concerts at Philadelphia, where he sang amongst other pieces of comic operas, a burlesque part in a very pleasant trio, by himself, which he seasoned with all the humerous strokes usual on such occasions, and afforded the highest amusement to the company, so that this was not the time for saying, one cannot lose a kingdom more gaily, but, it is impossible to be more gay in forming a republic. After this, conclude from particulars to generals, judge of whole nations by one specimen, and establish principles without exceptions!

The assembly, or subscription ball, of which I must give an account, may here be properly introduced. At Philadelphia, as at London, Bath, Spa, etc., there are places appropriated for the young people to dance in, and where those whom that amusement does not suit, play at different games of cards; but at Philadelphia games of commerce are alone allowed. A manager, or master of ceremonies

presides at these methodical amusements: he presents to the gentlemen and ladies, dancers, billets folded up containing each number; thus fate decides the male or female partner for the whole evening. All the dances are previously arranged, and the dancers are called in their turns. These dances, like the toasts we drink at table, have some relation to politics: one is called the success of the campaign, another, the defeat of Burgoyne, and a third, Clinton's retreat. The managers are generally chosen from amongst the most distinguished officers of the army; this important place is at present held by Colonel Wilkinson, who is also clothier general of the army. Colonel Mitchell, a little fat, squat man, fifty years old, a great judge of horses, and who was lately contractor for carriages, both for the American and French armies, was formerly the manager; but when I saw him, he had descended from the magistracy, and danced like a private citizen. He is said to have exercised his office with great severity, and it is told of him, that a young lady who was figuring in a country dance, having forgot her turn by conversing with a friend, he came up to her, and called out aloud, give over, Miss, take care what you are about; do you think you come here for your pleasure?

The assembly I went to on leaving Mr. Wilson, was the second of the winter. I was apprized that it would be neither numerous nor brilliant, for at Philadelphia, as at Paris, the best company seldom go to balls before Christmas. On entering the room, however, I found twenty, or five and twenty ladies ready for dancing. It was whispered me, that having heard a great deal of the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Damas, they were come with the hopes of having them for partners; but they were completely disappointed, those gentlemen having set out that very morning. I should have been disappointed also, had

I expected to see pretty women. There were only two passable, one of whom, called Miss Footman, was rather contraband, that is to say, suspected of not being a very good whig, for the tory ladies are publicly excluded from this assembly. I was here presented to a ridiculous enough personage, but who plays her part in the town; a Miss Viny, celebrated for her coquetry, her wit, and her sarcastic disposition: she is thirty, and does not seem on the point of marriage. In the mean time she applies red, white, blue, and all possible colours, affects an extraordinary mode of dressing her hair and person, and, a staunch whig in every point, she sets no bounds to her liberty.

I intended leaving Philadelphia the 15th, but the President of the State, who is also President of the Academy, was so good as to invite me to a meeting of that body to be held that day. It was the more difficult for me to refuse his invitation, as it was proposed to elect me a foreign member. The meetings are held only once a fortnight, and the elections take place but once a year: every candidate must be presented and recommended by a member of the academy; after which recommendation his name is placed up during three succeeding sittings, in the hall of the academy, and the election is at length proceeded to by ballot. I had only heard of mine three days before. It was unanimous, which very rarely happens, M. de la Fayette himself, who was elected at the same time, had one black ball against him, but it was thought to have been an accident. Out of one and twenty candidates, only seven were chosen, although the others had been strongly recommended, and there were several vacancies.

As the sittings of the academy did not begin till seven in the evening, I employed my morning in paying visits, after which I dined at Mr. Holker's with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, M. de la Fayette, and all the French officers:

from thence I went to the academy, accompanied by M. Marbois, a member of that body, as well as M. de la Luzerne, who having other business, excused himself from attending me, but left me in very good hands. Mr. Marbois unites to all political and social qualities, a great deal of literature, and a perfect knowledge of the English language. The assembly consisted of only fourteen or fifteen persons; the President of the college performed the office of secretary. A memoir was read on a singular plant, a native of the country; the secretary then gave an account of correspondence, and read a letter, the object of which was, for the academy of Philadelphia to associate with, or rather adopt several learned societies which are forming in each State. This project tended to make of this academy a sort of literary congress, with which the particular legislatures should keep a correspondence, but it was not thought proper to adopt this idea; the members seeming to be afraid of the trouble inseparable from all these adoptions, and the academy not wishing to make the following lines of Racine's *Athalie* applicable to them:

D'our lui viennent de tous cotes,

Ces enfans qu'en son sein elle n'a pas portes!

I returned as soon as possible to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, to have a still further enjoyment of that society which had constituted my happiness for the last fortnight; for it is unquestionably a very great one, to live with a man whose amiable and mild character never varies on any occasion; whose conversation is agreeable and instructive, and whose easy and unaffected politeness is the genuine expression of the best disposition. But however allowable it may be to declare one's own sentiments, when dictated by justice and gratitude, there is always a sort of personality in regarding public men only as they respect their connections with ourselves: it is to the King's Min-

ister, in America; it is to a man who most ably fills a most important post, that I owe my testimony and my praises.

I shall say, without fear of contradiction, that the Chevalier de la Luzerne is so formed for the station he occupies, that one would be led to imagine no other could fill it but himself; noble in his expences, like the minister of a great monarchy, but as plain in his manners as a republican, he is equally proper to represent the King with Congress, or the Congress with the King. He loves the Americans, and his own inclination attaches him to the duties of his administration; he has accordingly obtained their confidence, both as a private and a public man; but in both these respects he is equally inaccessible to the spirit of party, which reigns but too much around him; whence it results, that he is anxiously courted by all parties, and that by espousing none, he manages them all.

It was the 16th of December that I quitted the excellent winter quarters I had with him, and turned my face towards the north, to seek after the traces of General Gates and General Burgoyne, amidst heaps of snow. I had sent forward my horses to Bristol, where I was conveyed in a carriage which the Chevalier de la Luzerne was so kind as to lend me. By this means I arrived there in time enough to reach Prince-Town that night, but not before it was dark, leaving behind me some of my servants and horses.

The detail of my daily occupations having prevented me from giving a general idea of Philadelphia, I must, on quitting it, take a retrospective view, and consider at once its present state and the destiny which seems to await it. In observing its geographical situation, we may readily admit that Penn proceeded upon no erroneous idea, when he conceived his plan of making it one day the capital of America. Two large rivers, which take their rise in the

neighbourhood of Lake Ontario, convey to it the riches of all the interior parts of the country, and at length, by their junction considerably higher up, form a magnificent port at this city. This port is at once far enough from the sea to shelter it from every insult; and so near, as to render it as easy of access as if situated on the shore of the ocean. The Schuylkill, which runs to the west of Philadelphia, and nearly parallel with the Delaware, is rather ornamental than useful to this city and its commerce. This river, though wide and beautiful near its conflux, is not navigable for boats, on account of its shallow and rocky bed. Philadelphia, placed between these two rivers, on a neck of land only three miles broad, ought to fill up this space, but commerce has given it another turn. The regular plan of William Penn has been followed, but the buildings are along the Delaware, for the convenience of being near the warehouses and shipping. Front-street, which is parallel with the river, is near three miles long, out of which open upwards of two hundred quays, forming so many views terminated by vessels of different sizes. I could easily form an idea of the commerce of Philadelphia, from seeing above three hundred vessels in the harbour, though the English had not left a single bark in it in 1778. Two years of tranquillity, and above all, the diversion made by our squadron at Rhode Island, have sufficed to collect this great number of vessels, the success of which in privateering, as well as in trade, have filled the warehouses with goods, insomuch that purchasers alone are wanting. The wisdom of the legislative council, however, has not corresponded with the advantages lavished by Nature. Pennsylvania is very far from being the best governed of the United States. Exposed, more than others, to the convulsions of credit, and to the manœuvres of speculation, the instability of the public wealth has operated on the

legislation itself. An attempt was made to fix the value of the paper currency, but commodities augmented in price, in proportion as money lost its value; a resolution was then taken to fix the price also of commodities which almost produced a famine. A more recent error of the government, was the law prohibiting the exportation of corn. The object they had in view, was on one hand to supply the American army at a cheaper rate, and on the other, to put a stop to the contraband trade between Philadelphia and New York; the ruin of the farmers and the state was the result, which could no longer obtain payment of the taxes. This law is just repealed, so that I hope agriculture will resume its vigour, and commerce receive an increase. Corn sent to the army will be something dearer, but there will be more money to pay for it; and should there be some smuggling with New York, English money will circulate amongst their enemies.

[After discussing at considerable length the economic situation, the traveler describes a return journey, planning to go back to Prince Town and from that place to Albany by New Windsor, General Washington's headquarters. He, after some difficulty in making arrangements, started on the 17th, reached Baleuridge in the evening where the night was spent. The night of the 18th was spent at Court-heatles Tavern, lodging at which cost him sixteen dollars! Passing through a somewhat wild and sparsely settled district he finally, after a very interesting experience, came to Hern's Tavern where he supped and slept.]

I left it the 19th, as early as possible; having still twelve miles to New-Windsor, and intending to stay only one night, I was anxious to pass at least the greatest part of the day with General Washington. I met him two miles from New-Windsor; he was in his carriage with Mrs. Washington, going on a visit to Mrs. Knox, whose

quarters were a mile farther on, near the artillery barracks. They wished to return with me, but I begged them to continue their way. The General gave me one of his Aides de Camp (Colonel Humphreys) to conduct me to his house, assured me that he should not be long in joining me, and he returned accordingly in half an hour. I saw him again with the same pleasure, but with a different sentiment from what he had inspired me with at our first interview. I felt that internal satisfaction, in which self-love has some share, but which we always experience in finding ourselves in an intimacy already formed, in real society with a man we have long admired without being able to approach him. It then seems as if this great man more peculiarly belongs to us than to the rest of mankind; heretofore we desired to see him; henceforth, so to speak, we exhibit him; we know him, we are better acquainted with him than others, have the same advantage over them, that a man having read a book through, has in conversation over him who is only at the beginning.

The General insisted on my lodging with him, though his house was much less than he had at Prakness. Several officers, whom I had not seen at the army, came to dine with us. The principal of whom were Colonel Malcomb, a native of Scotland, but settled in America, where he has served with distinction in the continental army; he has since retired to his estate, and is now only a militia Colonel; Colonel Smith, an officer highly spoken of, and who commands a battalion of light infantry under M. de la Fayette; Colonel Humphreys, the General's Aide de Camp, and several others whose names I have forgot, but who had all the best *ton*, and the easiest deportment. The dinner was excellent, tea succeeded dinner, and conversation succeeded tea, and lasted till supper. The war was frequently the subject. On asking the General which of



our professional books he read with the most pleasure; he told me, the King of Prussia's Instructions to his Generals, and the Tactics of M. de Guibert; from whence I concluded that he knew as well how to select his authors as to profit by them.

I should have been very happy to accept of his pressing invitation to pass a few days with him, had I not made a solemn promise, at Philadelphia, to the Vicomte de Noailles, and his travelling companions, to arrive four-and-twenty hours after them if they stopped there, or at Albany if they went straight on. We were desirous of seeing Stillwater and Saratoga, and it would have been no easy matter for us to have acquired a just knowledge of that country had we not been together, because we reckoned upon General Schuyler, who could not be expected to make two journies to gratify our curiosity. I was thus far faithful to my engagement, for I arrived at New Windsor the same day that they left Cress Point; I hoped to overtake them at Albany, and General Washington finding he could not retain me, was pleased himself to conduct me in his barge to the other side of the river. We got on shore at Fish-Kill Landing Place, to gain the eastern road, preferred by travellers to the western. I now quitted the General, but he insisted that Colonel Smith should accompany me as far as Poughkensie. The road to this town passes pretty near Fish Kill, which we leave on the right, from thence we travel on the heights, where there is a beautiful and extensive prospect, and traversing a township, called Middlebrook, arrive at the creek, and at Wapping Fall. There I halted a few minutes to consider, under different points of view, the charming landscape formed by this river, as well from its cascade, which is roaring and picturesque, as from the groups of trees and rocks,

which, combined with a number of saw mills and furnaces, compose the most capricious and romantic prospect.

It was only half past three when I got to Poughkensie, where I intended sleeping; but finding that the sessions were then holding, and that all the taverns were full, I took advantage of the little remaining day to reach a tavern I was told of at three miles distance. Colonel Smith, who had business at Poughkensie remained there, and I was very happy to find myself in the evening with nobody but my two Aides de Camp. It was, in fact, a new enjoyment for us to be left to ourselves, and at perfect liberty to give mutual accounts of the impression left on our minds by so many different objects. I only regretted not having seen Governor Clinton, for whom I had letters of recommendation. He is a man who governs with the utmost vigour and firmness, and is inexorable to the tories, whom he makes tremble, though they are very numerous; he has had the address to maintain in its duty this province, one extremity of which borders on Canada, the other on the city of New York. He was then at Poughkensie, but taken up with the business of the sessions; besides, Saratoga, and Burgoyne's different fields of battle, being hence forth the sole object of my journey, I was wishing to get forward for fear of being hindered by the snow, and of the roads becoming impassable. On my arrival at Pride's Tavern, I asked a number of questions of my landlord, respecting the appearance he thought there was of a continuance, or a change of weather, and perceiving that he was a good farmer, I interrogated him on the subject of agriculture, and drew the following details from him. The land is very fertile in Dutchess County, of which Poughkensie is the capital, as well as in the State of New York, but it is commonly left fallow one year out of two or three, less from necessity than from there being more

land than they can cultivate. A bushel of wheat at most is sown upon an acre, which renders twenty, and five-and-twenty for one. Some farmers sow oats on the land that has borne wheat the preceding year, but this grain in general is reserved for lands newly turned up; flax is also a considerable object of cultivation; the land is ploughed with horses, two or three to a plough; sometimes even a greater number when on new land, or that which has long lain fallow.

[Setting out the next morning, much to his chagrin he was compelled to travel through the entire day in a storm of snow and sleet. Passing through the township of Strassburg, he entered another district called Rhybeck. German names of places were noticeable. The keeper of Thomas's Inn referred in his conversation to Arnold, and averred that he had suggested a business venture to Arnold by which he might have repaired his fortunes and avoided the temptation to betray his country. He found the people of New York generally of the opinion that Canada should be conquered and that this would be comparatively easy of accomplishment. Leaving Thomas's Inn on the 23rd he travelled for three hours in Livingston's Manor, passed by Claverack Meeting-house, and pursued the road to Albany. This took him through Kinderhook in which Dutch region he observed the conservative character of the people, especially in the disinclination to improve their dwelling houses.]

It was a difficult question to know where I should the next day pass the North river, for I was told that it was neither sufficiently broken to cross it on the ice, nor free enough from flakes to venture it in a boat. Apprized of these obstacles, I set out early on the 24th, that I might have time to discover the easiest passage. I was only

twenty miles from Albany; so that after a continued journey through a forest of fir trees, I arrived at one o'clock on the banks of the Hudson. The vale in which this river runs, and the town of Albany, which is built in the form of an amphitheatre on its western bank, must have afforded a very agreeable coup d'œil, had it not been disfigured by the snow. A handsome house half way up the bank opposite the ferry, seems to attract attention, and to invite strangers to stop at General Schuyler's, who is the proprietor as well as architect. I had recommendations to him from all quarters, but particularly from General Washington and Mrs. Carter. I had besides given the rendezvous to Colonel Hamilton, who had just married another of his daughters, and was preceded by the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Damas, who I knew were arrived the night before. The sole difficulty therefore consisted in passing the river. Whilst the boat was making its way with difficulty through the flakes of ice, which we were obliged to break as we advanced, Mr. Lynch, who is not indifferent about a good dinner, contemplating General Schuyler's house, mournfully says to me, "I am sure the Vicomte and Damas are now at table, where they have good cheer, and good company, whilst we are here kicking our heels, in hopes of getting this evening to some wretched alehouse." I partook a little of his anxiety, but diverted myself by assuring him that they saw us from the windows, that I even distinguished the Vicomte de Noailles who was looking at us through a telescope, and that he was going to send somebody to conduct us on our landing to that excellent house, where we should find dinner ready to come on table; I even pretended that a sledge I had seen descending towards the river, was designed for us. As chance would have it, never was conjecture more just. The first person we saw on shore, was the Chevalier de Mauduit,

who was waiting for us with the General's sledge, into which we quickly stepped, and were conveyed in an instant into a handsome saloon, near a good fire, with Mr. Schuyler, his wife and daughters. Whilst we were warming ourselves, dinner was served, to which every one did honour, as well as to the Madeira, which was excellent, and made us completely forget the rigour of the season, and the fatigue of the journey.

General Schuyler's family was composed of Mrs. Hamilton, his second daughter, who has a mild agreeable countenance; of Miss Peggy Schuyler, whose features are animated and striking; of another charming girl, only eight years old, and of three boys, the eldest of whom is fifteen, and are the handsomest children you can see. He is himself about fifty, but already gouty and infirm. His fortune is very considerable, and it will become still more so, for he possesses an immense extent of territory, but derives more credit from his talents and information than from his wealth. He served with General Amherst in the Canadian war, as Deputy Quarter-Master General. From that period he made himself known, and became distinguished; he was very useful to the English, and was sent for to London after the peace, to settle the accounts of every thing furnished by the Americans. His marriage with Miss Ranseleer, the rich heiress of a family which has given its name to a district, or rather a whole province, still added to his credit and his influence; so that it is not surprising he should be raised to the rank of Major General at the beginning of the war, and have the command of the troops on the frontiers of Canada. It was in this capacity, that he was commissioned in 1777 to oppose the progress of General Burgoyne; but having receive orders from Congress, directly contrary to his opinion, without being provided with any means necessary for carrying them into

execution, he found himself obliged to evacuate Ticonderoga, and fall back on the Hudson. These measures, undoubtedly prudent in themselves, being unfavourably construed in a moment of ill humour and anxiety, he was tried by a Court Martial, as well as General Sinclair, his second in command, and both of them were soon after honourably acquitted. Sinclair resumed his station in the army, but General Schuyler justly offended, demanded more satisfactory reparation, and reclaimed his rank, which since, this event, was contested with him by two or three Generals of the same standing. This affair not being settled, he did not rejoin the army, but continued his services to his country. Elected a member of Congress the year following, he was nearly chosen President in opposition to Mr. Laurens; since that time he has always enjoyed the confidence of the government, and of General Washington, who are at present paying their court to him, and pressing him to accept the office of Secretary of War.

Whilst we were in this excellent asylum, the weather continued doubtful, between frost and thaw; there was a little snow upon the ground, and it was probable there soon would be a fall. The council of travellers assembled, and it appeared to them proper not to delay their departure for Saratoga. General Schuyler offered us a house which he has upon his own estate; but he could not serve as a guide, on account of an indisposition, and his apprehension of a fit of the gout. He proposed giving us an intelligent officer to conduct us to the different fields of battle, whilst his son should go before to prepare us lodgings. We could still travel on horseback, and were supplied with horses of the country to replace ours which were fatigued, and a part of which still remained on the other side of the river. All these arrangements being accepted, we were conveyed to Albany in a sledge. On our arrival,

we waited on Brigadier General Clinton, to whom I delivered my letters of recommendation. He is an honest man, but of no distinguished talents, and is only employed out of respect to his brother the Governor. He immediately ordered the horses for our journey, and Major Popham, his Aide de Camp, an amiable and intelligent officer, was desired to conduct us. He was to take with him Major Graeme, who knows properly the ground, and served in the army under General Gates.

All our measures being well concerted, we each of us retired to our quarters; the Vicomte de Noailles and his two companions to an inn, kept by a Frenchman, called Louis, and I to that of an American of the name of Blennissens. At day-break, tea was ready, and the whole caravan assembled at my quarters; but melted snow was falling, which did not promise an agreeable ride. We were in hopes that it was a real thaw, and set out upon our journey. The snow however fell thicker and thicker, and was six inches deep when we arrived at the junction of the Mohawk with the Hudson's river. Here is a choice of two roads to Saratoga; one obliges you to pass the Hudson, to keep some time along the left bank, and pass it a second time near the Half-Moon; the other goes on the Mohawk river till you get above the Cataract, when you pass that river, and traverse the woods to Stillwater. Even had there been no difficulty in passing the North river on account of the ice, I should have preferred the other road, to see the cascade of Cohoes, which is one of the wonders of America. Before we left the Hudson, I remarked an island in the middle of its bed, which offers a very advantageous position for erecting batteries, to defend the navigation. The two Majors, to whom I communicated this observation, told me that this point of defence was neglected, because there was a better one, a little higher

up, at the extremity of one of the three branches into which the Mohawk river divides itself, in falling into the Hudson. They added that this position was very slightly reconnoitred; that which was begun to be fortified higher up, being sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy. Thus the more you examine the country, the more you are convinced that the expedition of Burgoyne was extravagant, and must sooner or later have miscarried, independent of the engagements which decided the event.

The junction of the two rivers is six miles north of Albany, and after travelling two more in the woods, we began to hear a murmuring noise, which increased till we came in sight of Cohoes Fall. This cataract is the whole breadth of the river, that is to say, near two hundred toises, about 1200 English feet wide. It is a vast sheet of water, which falls 76 English feet. The river in this place is contracted between two steep banks formed by the declivity of the mountains; these precipices are covered by an earth as black as iron ore, and on which nothing grows but firs and cypresses. The course of the river is straight, both before and after its fall, and the rocks forming this cascade are nearly on a level, but their irregular figure breaks the water whilst it is falling, and forms a variety of whimsical and picturesque appearances. This picture was rendered still more terrible by the snow which covered the firs, the brilliancy of which gave a black colour to the water, gliding gently along, and a yellow tinge to that which was dashing over the cataract.

[The traveler then gives a somewhat detailed description of his conversation with General Schuyler who read to him several communications of a military character that had passed between him and General Washington bearing particularly upon a plan to invade Canada. Then follows a trip to Schenectady, "14 miles from Albany on



the Mohawk river." The country surrounding is described as very wild and reference is also made to the presence of the Indians. Speaking of the five nations he says, "I do not believe that these five nations can produce four thousand men in arms." Returning to Albany, he accepted an invitation from General Schuyler to visit the battlefield of Saratoga. With this genial host he traversed the region in which Burgoyne was finally overwhelmed and expressed his admiration for the manner in which the Americans conducted the movements and rejoiced with them again as in imagination he saw the English army under the haughty Burgoyne compelled to surrender. In passing he alluded to the burning of General Schuyler's house by the British which he says General Schuyler told him had been done "rather from malice than for the safety of Burgoyne's army; since this house, situated in a bottom, could afford no advantage to the Americans; and he left the barn standing, which is at present the only asylum of the owner. It is here that Mr. Schuyler lodged us in some temporary apartments he fitted up until happier times allow him to build another house." The reflection upon Burgoyne's honor, says the Translator, was refuted upon the floor of the House of Commons where Burgoyne claimed that Schuyler himself had told him immediately after the battle that this burning was mere incident of the struggle and could not be avoided.

Taking leave of General Schuyler at Saratoga, the traveler turned his face toward the point of departure, Newport—and after considerable difficulty in crossing the river on account of the breaking up of the ice, he proceeded steadily toward that place. He passed through Kinderhook and Nobletown and finally reached Sheffield.

In the meantime the New Years had arrived and he was interested in the noisy and riotous manner in which it

was celebrated by the young people of the town in which he was tarrying. After staying all night at an inn about fifteen miles from Hartford, he proceeded on horseback to that town where he arrived in the afternoon of January 4th. He set out on the 5th for Lebanon which he reached at sunset. Six miles beyond was the Duke de Lauzern with the French Hussars who formed the advance guard of the French army distant seventy-five miles from Newport. After having a very pleasant experience in squirrel hunting, he set out from Lebanon on the 7th, arrived at Providence on the 8th, and reached Newport once more on the 9th; "satisfied with having seen many interesting things, without meeting with an accident; but with a sorrowful reflection that the place I arrived at, was still fifteen hundred leagues from that where I had left my friends."]

## CHASTELLUX TRAVELS

### VOLUME II

[Early in the spring of 1782 after the establishment of definite quarters by the French in Virginia, a purpose cherished for months by Chastellux to visit the upper parts of that province was carried out. He set out on the 8th of April accompanied by his Aide de Camp, Mr. Lynch, Frank Dillon, his second aid M. le Chevalier d'Oyre of the engineers and six servants. The spring was late and they travelled leisurely. Starting from Williamsburg they went first to New Kent Court House. Six miles from Williamsburg he passed the crossroads where in the previous June La Fayette had signally defeated a detachment of the British army. During the evening in the pleasant inn after an excellent sturgeon dinner, he thoroughly enjoyed the recollection of this happy event which had presaged the wonderful victory at Yorktown.]

The next morning I had an enjoyment of another kind. I rose with the sun, and whilst breakfast was preparing, took a walk around the house; the birds were heard on every side, but my attention was chiefly attracted by a very agreeable song, which appeared to proceed from a neighbouring tree. I approached softly, and perceived it to be a mocking bird, saluting the rising sun. At first I was afraid of frightening it, but my presence on the contrary gave it pleasure; for apparently delighted at having an auditor, it sung better than before, and its emulation seemed to increase, when it perceived a couple of dogs, which followed me, drew near to the tree on which it was perched. It kept hopping incessantly from branch to branch, still continuing its song, for this extraordinary bird is not less remarkable for its agility, than its charming notes; it keeps perpetually rising and sinking, so as to appear not less the favourite of Terpsichore, than Polihymnia. This bird cannot certainly be reproached with fatiguing its auditors, for nothing can be more varied than its song, of which it is impossible to give an imitation, or even to furnish an adequate idea. As it had every reason to be contented with my attention, it concealed from me no one of its talents; and one would have thought, that after having delighted me with a concert, it was desirous of entertaining me with a comedy. It began to counterfeit different birds; those which it imitated the most naturally, at least to a stranger, were the jay, the raven, the cardinal, and the lapwing. It appeared desirous of retaining me near it, for after having listened for a quarter of an hour. on my return to the house, it followed me, flying from tree to tree, always singing, sometimes its natural song, at others, those which it had learned in Virginia, and in its travels; for this bird is one of those which change climate, altho' it sometimes appears here during the winter.

[Continuing their journey they reached Newcastle, then direct to Hanover Court House. The traveler was much impressed with the beauty of the country. There were many traces here in Hanover County of the former presence of the British. Their landlord, Mr. Tilghman at Hanover Court House still lamented the experience he had with Cornwallis whom he had boarded and lodged but without any recompense.]

Mr. Tilghman having had time to renew his provisions since the retreat of Lord Cornwallis, we supped very well, and had the company of Mr. Lee, brother to Colonel Henry Lee; who long commanded a legion, and often distinguished himself, particularly in Carolina. We sat out at nine the next morning, after having breakfasted much better than our horses, which had nothing but oats, the country being so destitute of forage, that it was not possible to find a truss of hay, or a few leaves of Indian corn, though we had sought for it for two miles round. Three miles and a half from Hanover we crossed the South Anna on a wooden bridge. I observed that the river was deeply embanked, and from the nature of the soil concluded it was the same during a great part of its course; it appears to me therefore that would have been a good defence, if Monsieur de la Fayette, who passed it higher up, had arrived in time to destroy the bridge. On the left side of the river the ground rises, and you mount a pretty high hill, the country is barren, and we travelled almost always in the woods, till one o'clock, when we arrived at Offly, and alighted at General Nelson's, formerly Governor of Virginia. I had got acquainted with him during the expedition of York, at which critical moment he was Governor, and conducted himself with the courage of a brave soldier, and the zeal of a good citizen. At the time when the English armies were carrying desolation into the heart of his

country, and our troops arrived unexpectedly to succour and revenge it, he was compelled to exert every means, and to call forth every possible resource, to assist Monsieur de la Fayette to make some resistance; and furnish General Washington with horses, carriages, and provisions; but I am sorry to add, what will do but little honour to Virginia, that the only recompence of his labours was the hatred of a great part of his fellow citizens. At the first assembly of the province, held after the campaign, he experienced from them neither the satisfaction he had a right to expect, at being freed from servitude, nor that emulation which is the general consequence of success; but instead of these sentiments, so natural in such circumstances, a general discontent arising from the necessity under which he had often laboured, of pressing their horses, carriages and forage. Those laws and customs which would have ceased to exist by the conquest of the province, were put in force against its defender, and General Nelson, worn out at length by fatigues of the campaign, but still more by the ingratitude of his fellow citizens, resigned the place of Governor, which he had held for six months, but not without enjoying the satisfaction of justifying his conduct, and of seeing his countrymen pardon the momentary injuries he had done their laws, by endeavoring to save the state. If to the character I have just given of General Nelson, I should add, that he is a good and gallant man, in every possible situation of life, and has ever behaved with the utmost politeness to the French, you will be surprised that I should go to visit him in his absence, like Mathwin in the comedy of Rofe and Colas; for though I knew he was not at home, as I had met him near Williamsburgh, where he was detained by public business, the visit I intended to pay him formed a part of my journey I undertook—besides that I was desirous of seeing his family,

particularly his younger brother, Mr. William Nelson, with whom I was intimately connected at Williamsburgh, where he passed the greatest part of the winter. Offly is far from corresponding with the riches of General Nelson, or with his high consideration in Virginia; it is but a moderate plantation, where he had contented himself with erecting such buildings as are necessary for the improvement of his lands, and for the habitation of his overseers; his general residence is at York, but that he was obliged to abandon; and Offly being beyond the South Anna, and situated far back in the country, he thought that his lonely house would be at least a safe retreat for his family; it was not secure however from the visits of Lord Cornwallis, who, in his peregrinations thro' Virginia, advanced even so far, though without doing much mischief. In the absence of the General, his mother and wife received us with all the politeness, ease, and cordiality natural to his family. But as in America the ladies are never thought sufficient to do the honours of the house, five or six Nelsons were assembled to receive us; amongst others, the Secretary Nelson, uncle to the General, with his two sons, and two of the General's brothers. These young men were all married, and several of them were accompanied by their wives and children, all called Nelson, and distinguished only by their Christian names, so that during the two days which I passed in this truly patriarchal house, it was impossible for me to find out their degrees of relationship. When I say that we passed two days in this house, it may be understood in the most literal sense, for the weather was so bad, there was no possibility of stirring out. The house being neither convenient nor spacious, company assembled either in the parlour or saloon, especially the men, from the hour of breakfast, to that of bed-time, but the conversation was always agreeable and well supported.

If you were desirous of diversifying the scene, there were some good French and English authors at hand. An excellent breakfast at nine in the morning, a sumptuous dinner at two o'clock, tea and punch in the afternoon, and an elegant little supper, divided the day most happily, for those whose stomachs were never unprepared. It is worth observing, that on this occasion, where fifteen or twenty people (four of whom were strangers to the family or country) were assembled together, and by bad weather forced to stay within doors, not a syllable was mentioned about play. How many parties of trictrac, whist, and lotto would with us have been the consequence of such obstinate bad weather? Perhaps too, some more rational amusements might have varied the scene agreeably; but in America music, drawing, public reading, and the work of the ladies, are resources as yet unknown, though it is to be hoped they will not long neglect to cultivate them; for nothing but study was wanting to a young Miss Tolliver who sung some airs, the words of which were English, and the music Italian. Her charming voice, and the artless simplicity of her singing, were a substitute for taste, if not taste itself; that natural taste, always sure, when confined within just limits, and when timid in its weakness, it has not been altered, or spoiled by false precepts and bad examples.

Miss Tolliver had attended her sister, Mrs. William Nelson, to Offly, who was ill, and kept her bed. She was brought up in the middle of the woods by her father, a great fox-hunter, consequently could have learned to sing from the birds only, in the neighbourhood, when the howling of the dogs permitted her to hear them. She is an agreeable figure, as well as Mrs. Nelson her sister, tho' less pretty than a third daughter, who remained with her father. These young ladies came often to Williamsburgh

to attend the balls, where they appeared as well dressed as the ladies of the town, and always remarkable for their decency of behaviour. The young military gentlemen, on the other hand, had conceived a great affection for Mr. Tolliver their father, and took the trouble sometimes to ride over to breakfast and talk with him of the chace. The young ladies, who appeared from time to time, never interrupted the conversation. These pretty nymphs more timid and wild than those of Diana, though they did not conduct the chace, inspired the taste for it into the youth; they knew however how to defend themselves from fox-hunters, without destroying, by their arrows, those who had the presumption to look at them.

After this little digression, which required some indulgence, I should be at a loss for a transition to an old magistrate, whose white locks, noble figure, and stature, which was above the common size, commanded respect and veneration. Secretary Nelson, to whom this character belongs, owes this title to the place he occupied under the English Government. In Virginia the Secretary, whose office it was to preserve the registers of all public acts, was, by his place, a member of the council, of which the Governor was the chief. Mr. Nelson, who held this office for thirty year, saw the morning of that bright day which began to shine upon his country; he saw too the storms arise which threatened its destruction, though he neither endeavoured to collect, or to forment them.

Too far advanced in age to desire a revolution, too prudent to check this great event, if necessary, and too faithful to his countrymen to separate his interest from theirs, he chose the crisis of this alternation to retire from public affairs. Thus did he opportunely quit the theatre, when new pieces demanded fresh actors, and took his seat among the spectators, content to offer up his wishes for



the success of the Drama, and to applaud those who acted well their part. But in the last campaign, chance produced him on the scene, and made him unfortunately famous. He lived at York, where he had built a very handsome house, from which neither European taste nor luxury was excluded; a chimney-piece and some bass reliefs of very fine marble, exquisitely sculptured, were particularly admired, when fate conducted Lord Cornwallis to this town to be disarmed, as well as his till then victorious troops. Secretary Nelson did not think it necessary to fly from the English, to whom his conduct could not have made him disagreeable, nor have furnished any just motive of suspicion. He was well received by the General, who established his head-quarters in his house, which was built on an eminence, near the most important fortifications, and in the most agreeable situation of the town. It was the first object which struck the sight as you approached the town, but instead of travellers, it soon drew the attention of our bombardiers and cannoniers, and was almost entirely destroyed. Mr. Nelson lived in it at the time our batteries tried their first shot, and killed one of his negroes at a little distance from him; so that Lord Cornwallis was soon obliged to seek another asylum. But what asylum could be found for an old man, deprived of the use of his legs by the gout? But, above all, what asylum could defend him against the cruel anguish a father must feel at being besieged by his own children; for he had two in the American army. So that every shot, whether fired from the town, or from the trenches, might prove equally fatal to him; I was witness of the cruel anxiety of one of these young men, when after the flag was sent to demand his father, he kept his eyes fixed upon the gate of the town, by which it was to come out, and seemed to expect his own sentence in the answer. Lord

Cornwallis had too much humanity to refuse a request so just, nor can I recollect, without emotion, the moment in which I saw this old gentleman alight at General Washington's. He was seated, the fit of the gout not having yet left him; and whilst we stood around him, he related to us, with a serene countenance, what had been the effect of our batteries, and how much his house had suffered from the first shot.

The tranquillity which has succeeded these unhappy times, by giving him leisure to reflect upon his losses, has not embittered the recollection; he lives happily in one of his plantations, where, in less than six hours, he can assemble thirty of his children, grand children, nephews, nieces, etc., amounting in all to seventy, the whole inhabiting Virginia. The rapid increase of his own family justifies what he told me of the population in general, of which, from the offices he had held all his life, he must have it in his power to form a very accurate judgment. In 1742 the people subject to pay taxes in the State of Virginia, that is to say, the white males above sixteen, and the male and female blacks of the same age, amounted only to the number of 63,000; by his account they now exceed 160,000.

After passing two days very agreeably with this interesting family, we left them the 12th at ten in the morning, accompanied by the Secretary, and five or six other Nelsons, who conducted us to Little River Bridge, a small creek on the road about five miles from Offly. There we separated, and having rode about eleven miles further through woods, and over a barren country, we arrived at one o'clock at Willis's inn or ordinary; for the inns which in the other provinces of America are known by the name of taverns, or public-houses, are in Virginia called ordinaries. This consisted of a little house placed in a solitary situation in the middle of the woods, notwithstanding

which we there found a great deal of company. As soon as I alighted, I enquired what might be the reason of this numerous assembly, and was informed it was a cock-match. This diversion is much in fashion in Virginia, where the English customs are more prevalent than in the rest of America. When the principal promoters of this diversion, propose to match their champions, they take great care to announce it to the public; and although there are neither posts, nor regular conveyances, this important news spreads with such facility, that the planters for thirty or forty miles round, attend, some with cocks, but all with money for betting, which is sometimes very considerable. They are obliged to bring their own provisions, as so many people with good appetites could not possibly be supplied with them at the inn. As for lodgings, one large room for the whole company, with a blanket for each individual, is sufficient for such hearty countrymen, who are not more delicate about the conveniences of life, than the choice of their amusements.

Whilst our horses were feeding, we had an opportunity of seeing a battle. The preparation took up a great deal of time; they arm their cocks with long steel spurs, very sharp, and cut off a part of their feathers, as if they meant to deprive them of their armour. The stakes were very considerable; the money of the parties was deposited in the hands of one of the principal persons, and I felt a secret pleasure in observing that it was chiefly French. I know not which is the most astonishing, the insipidity of such diversion, or the stupid interest with which it animates the parties. This passion appears almost innate amongst the English, for the Virginians are yet English in many respects. Whilst the interested parties animated the cocks to battle, a child of fifteen, who was near me,

kept leaping for joy, and crying, Oh ! it is a charming diversion.

We had yet seven or eight and twenty miles to ride, to the only inn where it was possible to stop, before we reached Mr. Jefferson's; for Mr. de Rochambeau, who had travelled the same road but two months before, cautioned me against sleeping at Louisa Court-house, as the worst lodging he had found in all America. This public-house is sixteen miles from Willis's ordinary. As he had given me not only a very forcible description of the house, but of the landlord, I had a curiosity to judge of it by my own experience. Under the pretence of enquiring for the road, therefore, I went in, and observed, that there was no other lodging for travellers than the apartment of the landlord. This man, called Johnson, is become so monstrously fat, that he cannot move out his arm-chair. He is a good-humoured fellow, whose manners are not very rigid, who loves good cheer, and all sorts of pleasure, insomuch that at the age of fifty he has so augmented his bulk, and diminished his fortune, that by two opposite principles he is near seeing the termination of both; but all this does not in the least affect his gaiety. I found him contented in his arm-chair, which serves him for a bed; for it would be difficult for him to lie down, and impossible to rise. A stool supported his enormous legs, in which were large fissures on each side, a prelude to what must soon happen to his stomach. A large ham and a bowl of grog served him for company, like a man resolved to die surrounded by his friends. He called to my mind, in short, the country spoken of by Rabelais, where the men order their stomachs to be hooped to prolong their lives, and especially the Abbe, who having exhausted every possible resource, resolved to finish his days by a great feast, and invited all the neighbourhood to his bursting.

The night was already closed in, when we arrived at the house of Colonel Boswell, a tall, stout Scotchman, about sixty years of age, and who had been about forty years settled in America, where, under the English government, he was a Colonel of militia. Although he kept a kind of tavern, he appeared but little prepared to receive strangers. It was already late indeed, besides that this road, which leads only to the mountains, is little frequented. He was quietly seated near the fire, by the side of his wife, as old, and almost as tall as himself, whom he distinguished by the epithet of "honey," which in French corresponds with *mon petit coeur*. These honest people received us cheerfully, and soon called up their servants, who were already gone to bed. Whilst they were preparing supper, we often heard them call *Rose, Rose*, which at length brought to view the most hideous negress I ever beheld. Our supper was rather scanty, but our breakfast the next morning better; we had ham, butter, fresh eggs, and coffee by way of drink; for the whiskey or corn-spirits we had in the evening, mixt with water, was very bad; besides that we were perfectly reconciled to the American custom of drinking coffee with meat, vegetable, or other food.

We set out the next morning at eight o'clock, having learned nothing in this house worthy of remark, except that notwithstanding the hale and robust appearance of Mr. and Mrs. Boswell, not one of fourteen of their children had attained the age of ten years. We were now approaching a chain of mountains, of considerable height, called the South-west mountains, because they were the first you meet in travelling westward, before you arrive at the chain known in France by the name of the Apalachians, and in Virginia by that of the Blue Ridge, North Ridge, and Alleghany mountains. As the country was much covered

with woods, we had a view of them but very seldom; and travelled a long time without seeing any habitation, at times greatly perplexed to choose among the different roads, which crossed each other. At last we overtook a traveller who preceded us, and served not only as a guide, but by his company helped to abridge our journey. He was an Irishman, who though but lately arrived in America, had made several campaigns, and received a considerable wound in his thigh by a musquet ball; which, though it could never be extracted, had not in the least affected either his health or gaiety. He related his military exploits, and we enquired immediately about the country which he then inhabited. He acquainted us that he was settled in North Carolina, upwards of eighty miles from Catawbaw, and were then 300 from the sea. These new establishments are so much the more interesting, as by their distance from all commerce agriculture is their sole resource; I mean that patriarchal agriculture, which consists in producing only what is sufficient for their own consumption, without the hope of either sale or barter. These Colonies therefore must necessarily be rendered equal to all their wants. It is easy to conceive that there is soon no deficiency of food, but it is also necessary that their flocks and their fields should furnish them with clothing; they must manufacture their own wool, and flax, into clothes, and linen, they must prepare the hides to make shoes of them, etc., etc., as to drink, they are obliged to content themselves with milk and water, until their apple-trees are large enough to bear fruit, or until they have been able to procure themselves stills, to distil their grain. In these troublesome times we should scarcely imagine in Europe, that nails are the articles the most wanted in these new colonies; for the axe and the saw can supply every other want. They contrive however to erect

huts, and construct roofs without nails, but the work is by this means rendered much more tedious, and in such circumstances every body knows the value of time and labour. It was a natural question to ask such a cultivator what could bring him four hundred miles from home, and we learned from him that he carried on the trade of horse-selling, the only commerce of which his country was susceptible, and by which people in the most easy circumstances endeavoured to augment their fortunes. In fact, these animals multiply very fast in a country where there is abundant pasture, and as they are conducted without any expence, by grazing on the road, they become the most commodious article of exportation, for a country so far from any road or commerce. The conservation continued and brought us insensibly to the foot of the mountains. On the summit of one of them we discovered the house of Mr. Jefferson, which stands pre-eminent in these retirements; it was himself who built it and preferred this situation; for although he possessed considerable property in the neighbourhood, there was nothing to prevent him from fixing his residence wherever he thought proper. But it was a debt Nature owed to a philosopher and a man of taste, that in his own possessions he should find a spot, where he might best study and enjoy her. He calls his house Monticello (in Italian, Little Mountain) a very modest title, for it is situated upon a very lofty one, but which announces the owner's attachment of the language of Italy; and above all to the fine arts, of which that country was a cradle, and is still the asylum. As I had no farther occasion for a guide, I separated from the Irishman; and after ascending by a tolerably commodious road, for more than half an hour we arrived at Monticello. This house of which Mr. Jefferson was the architect, and often one of the workmen, is rather elegant, and in the

Italian taste, though not without fault; it consists of one large square pavilion, the entrance of which is by two porticoes, ornamented with pillars. The ground floor consists chiefly of a very large lofty saloon, which is to be decorated entirely in the antique style; above it is a library of the same form, two small wings, with only a ground floor, and attic story, are joined to this pavilion, and communicate with the kitchen, offices, etc., which will form a kind of basement story over which runs a terrace. My object in this short description is only to show the difference between this, and the other houses of the country; for we may safely aver, that Mr. Jefferson is the first American who has consulted the fine arts to know how he should shelter himself from the weather. But it is on himself alone I ought to bestow my time. Let me describe to you a man, not yet forty, tall, and with a mild and pleasing countenance, but whose mind and understanding are ample substitutes for every grace. An American, who without ever having quitted his own country, is at once a musician, skilled in drawing; a geometrician, an astronomer, a natural philosopher, legislator, and statesman. A senator of America, who sat for two years in that famous Congress which brought about the revolution; and which is never mentioned without respect, though unhappily not without regret; a governor of Virginia, who filled this difficult station during the invasions of Arnold, of Philips, and of Cornwallis; a philosopher, in voluntary retirement, from the world, and public busines, because he loves the world, inasmuch only as he can flatter himself with being useful to mankind; and the mind of his countrymen are not yet in a condition either to bear the light, or to suffer contradiction. A mild and amiable wife, charming children, of whose education he himself takes charge, a house to embellish, great provisions to improve, and the arts and



sciences to cultivate; these are what remain to Mr. Jefferson, after having played a principal character on the theatre of the new world, and which he preferred to the honourable commission of Minister Plenipotentiary in Europe.\* The visit I made him was not unexpected, for he had long since invited me to come and pass a few days with him, in the center of the mountains; notwithstanding which I found his first appearance serious, nay even cold; but before I had been two hours with him we were as intimate as if we had passed our whole lives together; walking, books, but above all, a conversation always varied and interesting, always supported by that sweet satisfaction experienced by two persons who in communicating their sentiments and opinions, are invariably in unison, and who understand each other at the first hint, made four days pass away like so many minutes.

This conformity of sentiments and opinions on which I insist, because it constitutes my own eulogium (and self-love must somewhere shew itself) this conformity, I say, was so perfect, that not only our taste was similar, but our predilections also, those partialities which cold methodical minds ridicule as enthusiastic, whilst sensible and animated ones cherish and adopt the glorious appellation. I recollect with pleasure that as we were conversing one evening over a bowl of punch, after Mrs. Jefferson had retired, our conversation turned on the poems of Ossian. It was a spark of electricity which passed rapidly from one to the other; we recollected the passages in those sublime poems, which particularly struck us, and entertained my fellow travellers, who fortunately knew English well,

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\*Mr. Jefferson, having since had the misfortune to lose his wife, has at last yielded to the intreaties of his country, and accepted the place of Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of France, and is now at Paris. It is necessary to observe that Mr. Jefferson, who justly stands in the highest situation in America, was one of the five Ministers Plenipotentiary for concluding a peace in Europe, named by Congress full two years before it took place; Messrs, Franklin, Adams, Laurens, and Jay were the other four.—Translator.

and were qualified to judge of their merit, though they had never read the poems. In our enthusiasm the book was sent for, and placed near the bowl, where, by their mutual aid, the night far advanced imperceptibly upon us. Sometimes natural philosophy, at others politicks or the arts were the topicks of our conversation, for no object had escaped Mr. Jefferson; and it seemed as if from his youth he had placed his mind, as he has done his house, on an elevated situation, from which he might contemplate the universe.

The only stranger who visited us during our stay at Monticello, was Colonel Armand, whom I have mentioned in my first Journal; he had been in France the preceeding year with Colonel Laurens, but returned soon enough to be present at the siege of York, where he marched as a volunteer at the attack of the redoubts. His object in going to France, was to purchase clothing and accountrements complete for a regiment he had already commanded, but which had been so roughly handled in the campaigns to the southward, that it was necessary to form it anew; he made the advance of the necessaries to Congress, who engaged to provide men and horses. Charlottesville, a rising little town situated in a valley two leagues from Monticello, being the quarter assigned for assembling this legion, Colonel Armand invited me to dine with him the next day, where Mr. Jefferson and I went, and found the legion under arms. It is to be composed of 200 horses and 150 foot. The horse was almost complete and very well mounted; the infantry was still feeble, but the whole were well clothed, well armed, and made a very good appearance. We dined with Colonel Armand, all the officers of his regiment, and a wolf he amuses himself in bringing up, which is now ten months old, and is as familiar, mild, and gay as a young dog; he never quits his master, and has

constantly the privilege of sharing his bed. It is to be wished that he may always answer so good an education, and not resume his natural character as he advances to maturity. He is not quite of the same kind with ours, his skin is almost black, and very glossy; he has nothing fierce about the head, so that were it not for his upright ears, and pendent tail, one might readily take him for a dog. Perhaps he owes the singular advantage of not exhaling a bad smell, to the care which is taken of his toilet; for I remarked that the dogs were not in the least afraid of him, and that when they crossed his trace, they paid no attention to it. But it appears improbably, that all the neatness in the world can deceive the instinct of those animals, which have such a dread of wolves, that they have been observed, in the King's garden at Paris, to raise their coats and howl at the smell only of two mongrels, engendered by a dog and a she-wolf. I am inclined therefore to believe, that this peculiarity belongs to the species of black wolf, for they have our species also in America; and in Europe we may possibly have the black kind, for so it may be conjectured at least from the old proverb: "He is as much afraid of me as of a grey wolf," which implies that there are also black ones.

Since I am on the subject of animals, I shall mention here some observations which Mr. Jefferson enabled me to make upon the wild beasts which are common in this country. I have been a long time in doubt whether to call them roebucks, stags, or deer, for in Canada they are known by the first name, in the eastern provinces by the second, and in the southern by the third. Besides, in American, their nomenclatures are so inaccurate, and their observations so slight, that no information can be acquired by examining the people of the country. Mr. Jefferson amused himself by raising a score of these animals in his park; they

are become very familiar, which happens to all the animals of America; for they are in general much easier to tame than those of Europe. He amuses himself by feeding them with Indian corn, of which they are very fond, and which they eat out of his hand. I followed him one evening into a deep valley, where they are accustomed to assemble towards the close of the day, and saw them walk, run, and bound; but the more I examined their paces, the less I was inclined to annex them to any particular species in Europe; they are absolutely of the same colour as the roebuck, and never change even when they are tamed, which often happens to the deer. Their horns, which are never more than a foot and a half long, and have more than four branches on each side, are more open and broader than those of the roebuck; they take an oblique direction in front; their tails are from eight to ten inches long, and when they leap they carry them almost vertical like the deer; resembling those animals not only in their proportions, but in the form of their heads, which are longer and less frizzled than those of the roebuck. They differ also from that species, as they are never found in pairs. From my own observations, in short, and from all I have been able to collect on the subject, I am convinced that this kind is peculiar to America, and that it may be considered something between the deer and roebuck. Mr. Jefferson being no sportsman, and not having crossed the seas, could have no decided opinion on this part of natural history; but he has not neglected the other branches. I saw with pleasure that he had applied himself particularly to meteorological observation, which, in fact, of all the branches of philosophy, is the most proper for the Americans to cultivate, from the extent of their country, and the variety of their situations, which give them in this point a great advantage over us, who in other respects have so many over

them. Mr. Jefferson has made, with Mr. Maddison, a well informed professor of mathematics, some correspondent observations on the reigning winds at Williamsburgh, and Monticello; and although these two places are at the distance only of fifty leagues, and not separated by any chain of mountains, the difference of their results was, that for 127 observations on the N. E. wind at Williamsburgh, there were only 32 at Monticello, where the N. W. wind in general supplies the place of the N. E. This latter appears to be a sea-wind, easily counteracted by the slightest obstacle, insomuch that twenty years since it was scarcely ever felt beyond West-Point; that is to say beyond the conflux of the Pawmunkey and the Matapony, which unite and form York river, near thirty-five miles from its mouth. Since the progress of population and agriculture has considerably cleared the woods, it penetrates so far as Richmond, which is thirty miles further. It may hence be observed, first, that the winds vary infinitely in their obliquity, and in the height of their region, secondly, that nothing is more essential than the manner in which we proceed in the clearing of a country, for the salubrity of the air, nay even the order of the seasons, may depend on the access which we allow the winds, and the direction we may give them. It is a generally received opinion at Rome, that the air is less healthy since the selling of a large forest situated between that city and Ostia, which defended it from the winds known in Italy by the names of the Scirocco and Libico. It is believed in Spain also, that the excessive droughts, of which the Castilians complain more and more, are occasioned by the cutting down of the woods, which used to attract and break the clouds in their passage. There is yet a very important consideration upon which I thought it my duty to fix the attention of the learned in this country, whatever diffidence I may have of

my own knowledge in philosophy, as well as on every other subject. The greatest part of Virginia is very low and flat, and so divided by creeks and great rivers, that it appears absolutely redeemed from the sea, and an entire new creation; it is consequently very swampy, and can be dried only by the cutting down a great quantity of wood; but as on the other hand it can never be so drained as not still to abound with mephitical exhalations; and of whatever nature these exhalations may be, whether partaking of fixed or inflammable air, it is certain that vegetation absorbs them equally, and that trees are the most proper to accomplish this object. It appears equally dangerous either to cut down or to preserve a great quantity of wood; so that the best manner of proceeding to clear the country, would be to disperse the settlements as much as possible, and to leave some groves of trees standing between them. In this manner the ground inhabited would be always healthy; and as there yet remain considerable marshes which they cannot drain, there is no risk of admitting the winds too easily, as they would serve to carry off the exhalations.

But I perceive my journal is something like the conversation I had with Mr. Jefferson; I pass from one object to another, and forget myself as I write, as it happened not unfrequently in his society. I must now quit the Friend of Nature, but not Nature herself, who expects me in all her splendour at the end of my journey; I mean the famous Bridge of Rocks, which unites two mountains, the most curious object I ever yet beheld, as its construction is the most difficult of solution. Mr. Jefferson would most willingly have conducted me thither, although this wonder is upwards of eighty miles from him, and he had often seen it; but his wife being indisposed, and himself as good a husband, as he is an excellent philosopher and a virtuous

citizen, he only acted as my guide for about sixteen miles, to the passage of the little river Mechum, where we parted, and I presume, to flatter myself, with mutual regret.

We walked our horses seventeen miles further in the defiles of the western mountains, before we could find a place to bait them; at last we stopped at a little lonely house, a Mr. MacDonnel's, an Irishman, where we found eggs, bacon, chickens, and whiskey, on which we made an excellent repast. He was an honest, obliging man; and his wife, who had a very agreeable and mild countenance, had nothing rustic either in her conversation or her manner. For in the center of the woods, and wholly occupied in rustic business, a Virginian never resembles an European peasant; he is always a freeman, participates in the government, and has the command of a few negroes. So that uniting in himself the two distinct qualities of citizen and master, he perfectly resembles the bulk of individuals who formed what were called the people in the ancient republics; a people very different from that of our days, though they are very improperly confounded, in the frivolous declamations of our half philosophers, who, in comparing ancient with modern times, have invariably mistaken the word people, for mankind in general; and believing themselves its defenders, have bestowed their praises on the oppressors of humanity. How many ideas have we still to rectify? How many words, the sense of which is yet vague and indeterminate? The dignity of man has been urged a hundred times, and the expression is universally adopted. Yet after all, the dignity of man is relative; if taken in an individual sense, it is in proportion to the inferior classes; the plebeian constitutes the dignity of the noble, the slave that of the plebeian, and the negro that of his white master. If taken in a general acceptation, it may inspire man with sentiments of tyranny and cruelty, in his relative situa-

tion with respect to other animals; destroying thus the general beneficence, by counteracting the orders and the views of Nature. What then is the principle on which Reason, escaped from sophists and rhetoricians, may at last rely? The equality of rights; the general interest which actuates all; private interest, connected with the general good; the order of society; as necessary as the symmetry of a beehive, etc., if all this does not furnish matter for eloquence, we must console ourselves, and prefer genuine morality to that which is fallacious. We had reason to be contented with that of Mr. MacDonnel; he presented us with the best he had, did not make us pay too dear, and gave us every instruction necessary to continue our journey; but not being able to set out until half past four o'clock, and having twelve miles to go before we passed the Blue Ridges, we were happy in meeting on the road with an honest traveller, who served us for a guide, and with whom we entered into conversation. He was an inhabitant of the county of Augusta, who had served in Carolina as a common rifleman, notwithstanding which, he was well mounted, and appeared much at his ease. In America the militia is composed of all the inhabitants without distinction, and the officers are elected by them without respect either to service or experience. Our fellow-traveller had been at the battle of Cowpens, where General Morgan, with 800 militia, entirely defeated the famous Tarleton, at the head of his legion, a regiment of regular troops, and of different pickets drawn from the army, forming near 1200 men, of whom upwards of 800 were killed or made prisoners. This event, the most extraordinary of the whole war, had always excited my curiosity. The modesty and simplicity with which general Morgan gave the account of it, have been generally admired. But one circumstance in this relation had always aston-



ished me. Morgan drew up his troops in order of battle, in an open wood, and divided his riflemen upon the two wings, so as to form, with the line, a kind of tenaille, which collected the whole fire, both directly and obliquely, on the center of the English. But after the first discharge, he made so dangerous a movement, that had he commanded the best disciplined troops in the world, I should be at a loss to account for it. He ordered the whole line to wheel to the right, and after retreating thirty or forty paces, made them halt, face about, and recommence the fire. I begged this witness, whose deposition could not be suspected, to relate what he had seen, and I found his account perfectly conformable to Morgan's own relation. But as he could assign no reason for this retrograde motion, I enquired if the ground behind the first position was not more elevated and advantageous, but he assured me it was absolutely the same; so that if it was this action which tempted the English (whose attack is not hot, but consists in general of a brisk fire, rather than in closing with the enemy) to break their line, and advance inconsiderately into a kind of focus of shot poured from the center and the wings, it depended on General Morgan alone to have claimed the merit, and to have boasted of one of the boldest stratagems ever employed in the art of war. This is a merit however he never claimed, and the relation of this rifleman leaves no doubt with me, that the General, dreading the superiority of the English, had at first designed to give up gradually the field of battle, and retreat to covered ground, more advantageous for inferior forces; but finding himself closely pressed, he had no other resource but to risk everything and give battle on the spot. Whatever was the motive of this singular manoeuvre, the result of it was the defeat of Tarleton, whose troops gave way on all sides, without a possibility of rallying them.

Fatigued by a very long march, they were soon overtaken by the American militia, who, assisted by sixty horse under Colonel Washington, made upwards of 500 prisoners, and took two pair of colours and two pieces of cannon.

It is natural to enquire how Tarleton's cavalry were employed during the engagement, and after the defeat; whilst the infantry were engaged, they endeavoured to turn the flanks of General Morgan's army, but were kept in awe by some riflemen, and by the American horse detached by Colonel Washington, to support them, in two little squadrons. After the battle, they fled full gallop, without ever thinking of the infantry, or taking the least precaution to cover their retreat. As to the English General, God knows what became of him. And this is that Tarleton who with Cornwallis was to finish the conquest of America; who with Cornwallis had received the thanks of the House of Commons, and whom all England admired as the hero of the army and the honour of the nation.

In reflecting on the fate of war, let us recollect, that two months after this victory gained by the militia, over 1200 veteran troops, General Greene, after having assembled near 5000 men, half militia, half continentals, made choice of an excellent position, and employed all the resources of military art, was beaten by 1800 men, abandoned by his militia, and forced to limit all his glory to the making the English pay dear for the field of battle, which the rest of his troops defended foot by foot, and yielded with reluctance.

[Passing through the gap, "or as it is called the neck of Rock-Fish which, in an extent of fifty miles, is the only passage to cross the Blue Ridges, at least in a carriage," they proceeded through woods abounding in game to the "South River," a branch of the "Potowmack." This stream they forded. The inns in the backwoods region were ex-

ecrable. However, they were endured because they were now nearing the Natural Bridge which was the chief object of the journey.

Luckily they met a native who was just returning home from getting his horse shod. This individual entering into conversation agreed to guide them on the road which it is doubtful that they could have deciphered without his aid. After two hours' travel the man said to M. de Chastellux, "You desire to see the Natural Bridge, don't you Sir. You are now upon it. Alight and go twenty steps to the right or left and you will see this prodigy." Chastellux's guide was a Mr. Grisby, whom he accompanied home.]

The other guests were a healthy good humoured young man of eight and twenty, who set out from Philadelphia with a pretty wife of twenty, and a little child in her arms, to settle 500 miles beyond the mountains, in a country lately inhabited, bordering on the Ohio, called the country of Kentucket. His whole retinue was a horse, which carried his wife and child. We were astonished at the easy manner with which he proceeded on his expedition, and took the liberty of mentioning our surprise to him. He told us that the purchase of good land in Pennsylvania was very extravagant, that provisions were too dear, and the inhabitants too numerous, in consequence of which he thought it more beneficial to purchase for about fifty guineas the grant of a thousand acres of land in Kentucket. This territory had been formerly given to a Colonel of militia, until the King of England thought proper to order the distribution of those immense countries; part of which was sold, and the other reserved to recompense the American troops who had served in Canada. But, said I, where are the cattle The implements of husbandry with which you must begin to clear the land you have purchased? In the country itself, replied he. I carry nothing with me,

but I have money in my pocket, and shall want for nothing. I began to relish the resolution of this young man, who was active, vigorous, and free from care; but the pretty woman, twenty years of age only, I doubted not but she was in despair at the sacrifice she had made; and I endeavoured to discover, in her features and looks, the secret sentiments of her soul. Though she had retired into a little chamber, to make room for us, she frequently came into that where we were; and I saw, not without astonishment, that her natural charms were even embellished by the serenity of her mind. She often caressed her husband and her child, and appeared to me admirably disposed to fulfil the first object of every infant colony—"to increase and multiply."

[Parting from Mr. Grisby, the traveller, with various experiences, among them some attempt at hunting game, passed through New London, Cumberland Court House and Powhatan Court House. Leaving the last named place on the 24th they proceeded forty-four miles to Petersburg on the "Apamatoek." "There are some houses on the opposite shore, but this kind of suburb is a district independent of Petersburg, and called Pocahunta." Crossing the river on a ferry-boat they found a pleasant inn where they were met by Mr. Victor whom they had seen at Williamsburg. He was a Prussian who had come to visit Mrs. Bowling, "one of the greatest landholders in Virginia and proprietor of half the town of Petersburg. Mrs. Bowling is the owner of great warehouses of tobacco at Petersburg—a commodity used as collateral for receipts that generally circulated as money."]

The warehouses at Petersburg belong to Mrs. Bowling. They were spared by the English, either because the Generals Philips and Arnold, who lodged with her, had some

respect for her property, or because they wished to preserve the tobacco contained in them in expectation of selling it for their profit. Phillips died in Mrs. Bowling's house, by which event the supreme command devolved upon Arnold; and I heard it said, that Lord Cornwallis, on his arrival, found him at great variance with the navy, who pretended that the booty belonged to them. Lord Cornwallis terminated the dispute, by burning the tobacco, but not before Mrs. Bowling, by her interest, had time sufficient to get it removed from her warehouses. She was lucky enough, also, to save her valuable property in the same town, consisting of a mill, which turns such a number of mill-stones, bolting machines, cribbles, etc., and, in so simple and easy a manner, that it produces above 800 pounds a year sterling. I passed upwards of an hour in examining its various parts, and admiring the carpenter's work, and the construction. It is turned by the waters of the Apamatock, which are conveyed to it by a canal excavated in the rock. Having continued our walk in the town, where we saw a number of shops, many of which were well stocked, we thought it time to pay our respects to Mrs. Bowling, and begged Mr. Victor to conduct us to her. Her house, or rather houses, for she has two on the same line resembling each other, which she proposes to join together, are situated on the summit of a considerable slope, which rises from the level of the town of Petersburg, and corresponds so exactly with the course of the river, that there is no doubt of its having formerly formed one of its banks. This slope, and the vast platform on which the house is built, are covered with grass, which affords excellent pasturage, and are also her property. It was formerly surrounded with rails, and she raised a number of fine horses there; but the English burned the fences, and carried away a great number of the horses. On our

arrival we were saluted by Miss Bowling, a young lady of fifteen, possessing all the freshness of her age; she was followed by her mother, brother, and sister-in-law. The mother, a lady of fifty, has but little resemblance to her country-women; she is lively, active, and intelligent; knows perfectly well how to manage her immense fortune, and what is yet more rare, knows how to make good use of it. Her son and daughter-in-law I had already seen at Williamsburgh. The young gentleman appears mild and polite, but his wife, of only seventeen years of age, is a most interesting acquaintance, not only from her face and form, which are exquisitely delicate, and quite European, but from her being also descended from the Indian Princess Pocahunta, daughter of King Powhatan, of whom I have already spoken. We may presume that it is rather the disposition of that amiable American woman, than her exterior beauty, which Mrs. Bowling inherits.

Perhaps they who are not particularly acquainted with the history of Virginia, may be ignorant, that Pocahunta was the protectress of the English, and often screened them from the cruelty of her father. She was twelve years old when Captain Smith, the bravest, the most intelligent and the most humane of the first colonists, fell into the hands of the savages; he already understood their language, and traded with them several times, and often appeased the quarrels between the Europeans and them; often had he been obliged also to fight them, and to punish their perfidy. At length, however, under the pretext of commerce, he was drawn into an ambush, and the only two companions who accompanied him, fell before his eyes; but, though alone, by his dexterity he extricated himself from the troop which surrounded him, until, unfortunately, imagining he could save himself by crossing a morass, he stuck fast, so that the savages, against whom he had

no means of defending himself, at last took and bound him, and conducted him to Powhatan. The King was so proud of having Captain Smith in his power, that he sent him in triumph to all the tributary Princes, and ordered that he should be splendidly treated, till he returned to suffer that death which was prepared for him.

The fatal moment at last arrived, Captain Smith was laid upon the hearth of the savage King, and his head placed upon a large stone to receive the stroke of death, when Pocahunta, the youngest and darling daughter of Powhatan, threw herself upon his body, clasped him in her arms, and declared, that if the cruel sentence were executed, the first blow should fall on her. All savages (absolute sovereigns and tyrants not excepted) are invariably more affected by the tears of infancy, than the voice of humanity. Powhatan could not resist the tears and prayers of his daughter; Captain Smith obtained his life, on condition of paying for his ransom a certain quantity of muskets, powder and iron utensils; but how were they to be obtained. They would neither permit him to return to James Town, nor let the English know where he was, lest they should demand him sword in hand. Captain Smith, who was as sensible as courageous said, that if Powhatan would permit one of his subjects to carry to James Town a little board which he would give him, he should find under a tree, at the day and hour appointed, all the articles demanded for his ransom. Powhatan consented, but without having much faith in his promises, believing it to be only an artifice of the Captain's to prolong his life. But he had written on the board a few lines sufficient to give an account of his situation. The messenger returned. The King sent to the place fixed upon, and was greatly astonished to find everything which had been demanded. Powhatan could not conceive this mode of transmitting

thoughts, and Captain Smith was henceforth looked upon as a great magician, to whom they could not shew too much respect. He left the savages in this opinion, and hastened to return home. Two or three years after, some fresh differences arising amidst them and the English, Powhatan, who no longer thought them sorcerers, but still feared their power, laid a horrid plan to get rid of them altogether. His project was to attack them in profound peace, and cut the throats of the whole colony. The night of this intended conspiracy, Pocahunta took advantage of the obscurity, and in a terrible storm which kept the savages in their tents, escaped from her father's house, advised the English to be upon their guard, but conjured them to spare her family, to appear ignorant of the intelligence she had given, and terminate all their differences by a new treaty. It would be tedious to relate all the services which this angel of peace rendered to both nations. I shall only add, that the English, I know not from what motives, but certainly against all faith and equity, thought proper to carry her off. Long and bitterly did she deplore her fate, and the only consolation she had was Captain Smith, in whom she found a second father. She was treated with great respect, and married to a planter of the name of Rolle, who soon after took her to England. This was in the reign of James the First; and, it is said, that this monarch, pedantic, and ridiculous in every point, was so infatuated with the prerogatives of royalty, that he expressed his displeasure, that one of his subjects should dare to marry the daughter even of a savage King. It will not perhaps be difficult to decide on this occasion, whether it was the savage King who derived honour from finding himself placed upon a level with the European prince, or the English monarch, who by his pride and prejudices reduced himself to the level with the chief of the savages. Be that as it



will, Captain Smith, who had returned to London before the arrival of Pocahunta, was extremely happy to see her again, but dared not to treat her with the same familiarity as at James Town. As soon as she saw him, she threw herself into his arms, calling him her father; but finding that he neither returned her caresses with equal warmth, nor the endearing title of daughter, she turned aside her head and wept bitterly, and it was a long time before they could obtain a single word from her. Captain Smith enquired several times what could be the cause of her affliction. "What!" said she, "did I not save thy life in America? When I was torn from the arms of my father, and conducted amongst thy friends, didst thou not promise to be father to me? Didst thou not assure me, that if I went into thy country thou wouldst be my father, and that I should be thy daughter? Thou hast deceived me, and behold me, now here, a stranger and an orphan." It was not difficult for the Captain to make his peace with this charming creature, whom he tenderly loved. He presented her to several people of the first quality, but never dared take her to court, from which however she received several favours. After a residence of several years in England, an example of virtue and piety, and attachment to her husband, she died, as she was on the point of embarking on her return to America. She left an only son, who was married, and left only daughters; these daughters, others; and thus, with the female line, the blood of the amiable Pocahunta now flows in the veins of the young and charming Mrs. Bowling.

I hope I shall be pardoned this long digression, which may be pleasing to some readers. My visit to Mrs. Bowling and her family, having convinced me, that I should pass part of the day with them agreeably, I continued my walk, with a promise of returning at two o'clock. Mr.

Victor conducted me to the camp formerly occupied by the enemy, and testified his regret that I could not take a nearer view of Mr. Bannister's handsome country-house, which was in sight; there being no other obstacle however than the distance, about a mile and a half, and the noonday heat, we determined that this should not stop us; and, walking slowly, we reached without fatigue, this house, which is really worth seeing. It is decorated rather in the Italian, than the English or American style, having three porticoes at the three principal entries, each of them supported by four columns.

[Next day they were obliged to quit the good house and agreeable company they had enjoyed and left Petersburg behind—a town, already flourishing and destined, to the traveler's mind, to become increasingly important, in spite of its insalubrious climate.]

Five miles from Petersburg we passed the small river of Randolph, over a stone bridge; and travelling through a rich and well peopled country, arrived at a fork of roads, where we were unlucky enough precisely to make choice of that which did not lead to Richmond, the place of our destination. But we had no reason to regret our error, as it was only two miles about; and we skirted James river to a charming place called Warwick, where a groupe of handsome houses form a sort of village, and there are several superb ones in the neighborhood; amongst others, that of Colonel Carey, on the right bank of the river, and M. Randolph's on the opposite shore. One must be fatigued with hearing the name of Randolph mentioned in travelling in Virginia (for it is one of the most ancient families in the country) a Randolph being amongst the first settlers, and is like-wise one of the most numerous and rich. It is divided into seven or eight branches, and I am not afraid

of exaggerating, when I say, that they possess an income of upwards of a million of livres. It is only twenty-five miles from Petersburg to Richmond, but as we had lost our way, and travelled but slowly, it was near three o'clock when we reached Manchester, a sort of suburb to Richmond, on the right bank of the river, where you pass the ferry. The passage was short, there being two boats for the accommodation of travellers. Though Richmond be already an old town, and well situated for trade, being built on the spot where James river begins to be navigable, that is, just below the Rapids, it was, before the war, one of the least considerable in Virginia, where they are all, in general, very small; but the seat of government having been removed from Williamsburgh, it is become a real capital, and is augmenting every day. It was necessary, doubtless, to place the legislative body at a distance from the sea-coast, where it was exposed to the rapid and unexpected inroads of the English; but Williamsburgh had the still farther inconvenience of being situated at the extremity of the state, which obliged a great part of the Delegates to make a long journey to the Assembly; besides, that from its position between James and York rivers, it has no port nor communication with them, but by small creeks very difficult for navigation, whilst vessels of 200 tons come up to Richmond. This new capital is divided into three parts, one of which is on the edge of the river, and may be considered as the port; the two others are built on two eminences, which are separated by a little valley. I was conducted to that on the west, where I found a good inn, and my lodgings, and dinner ordered by a servant whom I had sent on two days before, with a lame horse. We were served, therefore, immediately, but with such magnificence and profusion, that there would have been too much for twenty persons. Every plate that was

brought us produced a burst of laughter, but not without considerable alarm for the bill of the next day; for I had been apprized that the inns at Richmond were uncommonly extravagant. I escaped, however, for seven or eight Louis d'ors, which was not enormous, considering our expenditure. A short time before, Mr. de Rochambeau had paid five and twenty Louis, at another inn, for some horses which remained there for four or five days, although he neither ate nor slept in it himself. Mr. Formicalo, my landlord, was more honest; his only error was the exalted idea he had formed of the manner in which French General Officers must be treated. He is a Neapolitan, who came to Virginia with Lord Dunmore, as his *Maitre de' Hotel*, but he had gone rather round about, having been before in Russia. At present he has a good house, furniture, and slaves, and will soon become a man of consequence in his new country. He still, however, recollects his native land with pleasure, and I have no doubt that my attention in addressing him only in Italian, saved me a few Louis.

After dinner I went to pay a visit to Mr. Harrison, then Governor of the State. I found him in a homely, but spacious enough house, which was fitted up for him. As the Assembly was not then sitting, there was nothing to distinguish him from other citizens. One of his brothers, who is a Colonel of Artillery, and one of his sons, who acts as his Secretary, were with him. The conversation was free and agreeable, which he was even desirous of prolonging; for on my rising in half an hour, lest I might interrupt him, he assured me that the business of the day was at an end, and desired me to resume my seat. We talked much of the first Congress in America, in which he sat for two years, and which, as I have already said, was composed of every person distinguished for virtue and capacity on the continent. This subject led us naturally

to that which is the most favourite topic amongst the Americans, the origin and commencement of the present Revolution. It is a circumstance peculiar to Virginia, that the inhabitants of that country were certainly in the best situation of all the colonists under the English government. The Virginians were planters, rather than merchants, and the objects of their culture were rather valuable than the result of industry. They possessed, almost exclusively, the privileged article of tobacco, which the English came in quest of into the very heart of the country, bringing in exchange every article of utility, and even of luxury. They had a particular regard and predilection for Virginia, and favoured accordingly the peculiar disposition of that country, where cupidity and indolence go hand-in-hand, and serve only as boundaries to each other. It was undoubtedly no easy matter therefore, to persuade this people to take up arms, because the town of Boston did not chuse to pay a duty upon tea, and was in open rupture with England. To produce this effect, it was necessary to substitute activity for indolence, and foresight for indifference. That idea was to be awakened at which every man, educated in the principles of the English constitution, shudders, the idea of a servile submission to a tax to which he had not himself consented. The precise case however relative to them, had not yet occurred, though every enlightened mind foresaw that such was the object, and would be the inevitable consequence of the early measures of the government; but how were the people to be convinced of this? By what other motive could they be brought to adopt decisive measures, if not by the confidence they reposed in their leaders? Mr. Harrison informed me, that when he was on the point of setting out with Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Lee to attend the first Congress at Philadelphia, a number of respectable, but un-

informed inhabitants, waited upon, and addressed them as follows: "You assert that there is a fixed intention to invade our rights and privileges; we own that we do not see this clearly, but since you assure us that it is so, we believe the fact. We are about to take a very dangerous step, but we confide in you, and are ready to support you in every measure you shall think proper to adopt." Mr. Harrison added, that he found himself greatly relieved by a speech made by Lord North soon after, in which he could not refrain from avowing, in the clearest manner, the plan of the British Government. This speech was printed in the public papers, and all America rang with its contents. Returning afterwards to Virginia, he saw the same persons who had thus addressed him on his departure, who now confessed that he had not deceived them, and that henceforward they were resolutely determined upon war. These particular details cannot but be useful to such Europeans as are desirous of forming a just idea of those great events, in which they took so deep an interest; for they would be much deceived in imagining that all the Thirteen States of America were invariably animated by the same spirit, and affected by the same sentiments. But they would commit a still greater error, did they imagine, that these people resemble each other in their forms of government, their manners and opinions. One must be in the country itself; one must be acquainted with the languages, and take a pleasure in conversing, and in listening, to be qualified to form, and that slowly, a proper opinion and a decisive judgment. After this reflection, the reader will not be surprised at the pleasure I took in conversing with Mr. Harrison. Besides that I was particularly happy to form an acquaintance with a man of so estimable character in every respect, and whose best eulogium it is to

say, that he is the intimate friend of Dr. Franklin.\* He pressed me to dine with him next day, and to pass another day at Richmond; but as there was nothing to excite curiosity in that town, and I was desirous of stopping at Westover before I returned to Williamsburgh, where I was anxious to arrive, we set out the 27th at eight in the morning, under the escort of Colonel Harrison, who accompanied us to a road from which it was impossible to go astray. We travelled six and twenty miles without halting, in very hot weather, but by a very agreeable road, with magnificent houses in view at every instant; for the banks of James-River form the garden of Virginia. That of Mrs Bird, to which I was going, surpasses them all in the magnificence of the buildings, the beauty of its situation, and the pleasures of society.\*

Mrs. Bird is the widow of a Colonel who served in the war of 1756, and was afterwards one of the council under the British Government. His talents, his personal qualities, and his riches, for he possessed an immense territory, rendered him one of the principal personages of the coun-

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\*The illustrious and amiable character of Doctor Franklin is far beyond my praise. To have known him; to have been a frequent witness to the distinguished acts of his great mind; to have been in a situation to learn, and to admire his comprehensive views, and benevolent motives; to have heard the profound maxims of wise philosophy and sound politics, drop from his lips with all the unaffected simplicity of the most indifferent conversation; to have heard him deviate from the depths of reason, and adapt his instructive discourse to the capacity and temper of the young and gay; to have enjoyed in short, the varied luxuries of his delightful society: is a subject of triumph and consolation, of which nothing can deprive me. He, too, as well as the envious and interested enemies of his transcendent merit, must drop from off the scene, but his name, are *perennius*, is inscribed in indelible characters on the immortal roll of philosophy and freedom; for the *ardentia verba* of the most honest advocate of freedom of the present age, the late Sergeant Glynn, on a great occasion, the action against Lord Halifax for the false imprisonment of Mr. Wilkes, may with peculiar justice be applied to this great man. "Few men in whole revolving ages can be found, who dare oppose themselves to the force of tyranny, and whose single breasts contain the spirit of nations." | Translator.

\*The most perfect ease and comfort characterize the mode of receiving strangers in Virginia; but nowhere are these circumstances more conspicuous than at the house of General Washington. Your apartments are your home, the servants of the house are yours, and whilst every inducement is held out to bring you into the general society in the drawing room, or at the table, it rests with yourself to be served or not with everything in your own chamber. In short, nothing can more resemble the easy reception of guest than at the country residence of the late Sir Charles Turner in Yorkshire, where hospitality perhaps was strained farther than consisted with a proper assortment of company, or even with safety.—Translator.

try; but being a spendthrift and a gambler, he left his affairs, at his death, in very great disorder. He had four children by his first wife, who were already settled in the world, and has left eight by his second, of whom the widow takes care. She has preserved his beautiful house, situated on James-River, a large personal property, a considerable number of slaves, and some plantations which she has rendered valuable. She is about two-and-forty, with an agreeable countenance, and great sense. Four of her eight children are daughters, two of whom are near twenty, and they are all amiable and well educated. Her care and activity have in some measures repaired the effects of her husband's dissipation, and her house is still the most celebrated, and the most agreeable of the neighbourhood. She has experienced however fresh misfortunes; three times have the English landed at Westover, under Arnold and Cornwallis; and though these visits cost her dear, her husband's former attachment to England, where his eldest son is now serving in the army, her relationship with Arnold, whose cousin german she is, and perhaps too, the jealousy of her neighbours, have given birth to suspicions, that war alone was not the object which induced the English always to make their descents at her habitation. She has been accused even of connivance with them, and the government have once put their seal upon her papers; but she has braved the tempest, and defended herself with firmness; and though her affair be not yet terminated, it does not appear as if she was likely to suffer any other inconvenience than that of being disturbed and suspected. Her two eldest daughters passed the last winter at Williamsburgh, where they were greatly complimented by M. de Rochambeau and the whole army.\*

I had also received them in the best manner I could, and received the thanks of Mrs. Bird, with a pressing invi-



tation to come and see her; I found myself in consequence quite at home. I found here also my acquaintance, the young Mrs. Bowling, who was on a visit to Mr. Mead, a friend and neighbour of Mrs. Bird's, who had invited him and his company to dinner. I passed this day therefore very agreeably, and Mr. and Mrs. Mead, whom I had also known at Williamsburgh, engaged the company to dine with them the next day. The river alone separated the two houses, which are notwithstanding, upwards of a mile distant from each other; but as there is very little current, the breadth of the water between them does not prevent it from being soon passed. Mr. Mead's house is by no means so handsome as that of Westover, but it is extremely well fitted up within, and stands on a charming situation; for it is directly opposite to Mrs. Bird's, which, with its surrounding appendages, has the appearance of a small town, and forms a most delightful prospect. Mr. Mead's garden, like that of Westover, is in the nature of terrace on the banks of the river, and is capable of being made still more beautiful, if Mr. Mead preserves his house, and gives some attention to it; for he is a philosopher of a very amiable but singular turn of mind, and such as is particularly uncommon in Virginia, since he rarely attends to affairs of interest, and cannot prevail upon himself to make his negroes work. He is even so disgusted with a culture wherein it is necessary to make use of slaves, that he was

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\*The prudent conduct of the French officers, and the strict discipline of their troops in a country with different manners, language, and religion, full of inveterate prejudices, and wherein they had very lately been regarded as natural enemies, must ever be considered as an epocha and a phenomenon in the history of policy and subordination. Whilst all ranks of officers were making it their study successfully to conciliate the good opinion of the higher classes, nothing could exceed the probity and urbanity of the common soldiers; not only did they live with the American troops in a harmony, hitherto unknown to allied armies, even of kindred Language, interest and religion, but their conduct was irreproachable, and even delicate to the inhabitants of the country. They who predicted discord on the introduction of a French army, had reason and experience on their side; but the spirit of policy and wisdom which presided in the French councils had gone forth, and diffused itself through every subordinate class of men, persuaded even the meanest actors in the war, and baffled foresight. Nor was this one of the least extraordinary circumstances of this wonderful revolution.—Translator.

tempted to sell his possessions in Virginia, and remove to New England. Mrs. Bird, who has a numerous family to provide for, cannot carry her philosophy so far; but she takes great care of her negroes, makes them as happy as their situation will admit, and serves them herself as a doctor in time of sickness. She has even made some interesting discoveries on the disorders incident to them, and discovered a very salutary method of treating a sort of putrid fever which carries them off commonly in a few days, and against which the physicians of the country have exerted themselves without success.\*

The reader will certainly not accuse me of playing the orator, and reserving objects of the greatest magnitude for the end of my discourse; for I shall here conclude my journal. It is unnecessary to speak of my return to Williamsburgh, unless it be worthy of remark, that the Chickahominy, which is only a secondary river, since it falls into that of James, is yet so wide, six miles from its conflux, that I was three quarters of an hour in passing it. But if he will still favour me with his attention, I shall termin-

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\*Mr. Lund Washington, a relative of the General's and who managed all his affairs during his nine years' absence with the army, informed me that an English frigate having come up the Potowmack, a party was landed who set fire to and destroyed some gentlemen's houses on the Maryland side in sight of Mount Vernon, the General's house, after which the Captain (I think Captain Graves of the *Actæon*), sent a boat on shore to the General's, demanding a large supply of provisions, etc., with a menace of burning it likewise in case of a refusal. To this message, Mr. Lund Washington replied, "that when the General engaged in the contest he had put all to stake, and was well aware of the exposed situation of his house and property, in consequence of which he had given him orders by no means to comply with any such demands, for that he would make no unworthy compromise with the enemy, and was ready to meet the fate of his neighbours." The Captain was highly incensed on receiving this answer, and removed his frigate to the Virginia shore; but before he commenced his operations, he sent another message to the same purport, offering likewise a passport of Mr. Washington to come on board; he returned accordingly in the boat, carrying with him a small present of poultry, of which he begged the Captain's acceptance. His presence produced the best effect he was hospitably received notwithstanding he repeated the same sentiments with the same firmness. The Captain expressed his personal respect for the character of the General, commending the conduct of Mr. Lund Washington, and assured him nothing but his having misconceived the terms of the first answer could have induced him for a moment to entertain the idea of taking the smallest measure offensive to so illustrious a character as the General, explaining at the same time the real or supposed provocations which had compelled his severity on the other side of the river. Mr. Washington, after spending some time in perfect harmony on board, returned, and instantly dispatched sheep, hogs, and an abundant supply of other articles as a present to the English frigate. The Translator hopes that that in the present state of men and measures in England, Mr. Graves, or whoever the Captain of that frigate was, will neither be offended at this anecdote, nor be afraid to own himself the actor in this generous transaction. Henry IVth supplied Paris with provisions whilst he was blockading it!—Translator.

ate this long narrative of a short journey, by some observations, on a country I have travelled through, and inhabited long enough to know it thoroughly.

The Virginians differ essentially from the inhabitants to the north and eastward of the Bay (of Chesapeake) not only in the nature of their climate, that of their soil, and the objects of cultivation peculiar to it, but in that indelible character which is imprinted on every nation at the moment of its origin, and which by perpetuating itself from generation to generation, justifies the following great principles, that everything which is, partakes of that which has been. The discovery of Virginia dates from the end of the sixteenth century, and the settlement of the colony took place at the commencement of the seventeenth. These events passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First. The republican and democratical spirit was not then common in England; that of commerce and navigation was scarcely in its infancy; and the long wars with France and Spain had perpetuated, under another form, the same military cast given to the nation by William the Conqueror, Richard, Coeur de Lion, Edward the Third, and the Black Prince. There were no longer any Knights Errant, as in the time of the Croisades, but in their place arose a number of adventurers who served indifferently their own country, and foreign powers; and gentlemen, who disdaining agriculture and commerce, had no other profession but that of arms; for at that period the military spirit maintained the prejudices favourable to that nobility, from which it was long inseparable; besides that the dignity of the peerage, from being less common in England, gave more eclat and more consistence to those who possessed it by hereditary right. The first colonists in Virginia were composed, in great measure, of such soldiers, and such gentlemen, some of whom went in search

of fortune, and others, of adventures. And in fact, if the establishment of a colony requires all the industry of the merchant and the cultivator, the discovery, and conquest of unknown countries seems more peculiarly adapted to the ideas of the warlike and romantic. Accordingly the first company, which obtained the exclusive property of Virginia, was principally composed of men the most distinguished by their rank or birth; and though all these illustrious proprietors did not actually become colonists, several of them were not afraid to pass the seas; and a Lord Delaware was amongst the first governors of Virginia. It was natural therefore for these new colonists, who were filled with military principles, and the prejudices of nobility, to carry them into the midst even of the savages whose lands they were usurping; and of all our European ideas, these were what the unpolished tribes most readily conceived. I know that there now remains but an inconsiderable number of these ancient families; but they have retained a great estimation, and the first impulse once given, it is not in the power of any legislator, not even of time itself, wholly to destroy its effect. The government may become democratic, as it is at the present moment; but the national character, the spirit of the government itself, will be always aristocratic. Nor can this be doubted, when we take into consideration another cause, co-operating with the former; I mean to speak of slavery; not that it is any mark of distinction, or peculiar privilege to possess negroes, but because the empire men exercise over them cherishes vanity and sloth, two vices which accord wonderfully with the already established prejudices. It will, doubtless, be asked, how these prejudices have been brought to coincide with a revolution founded on such different principles. I shall answer, that they have even perhaps contributed to produce it. That whilst the revolt of New

England was the result of reason and calculation, pride possibly had no inconsiderable share in dictating the measures of Virginia. I shall add, what I have above hinted, that in the beginning, even the indolence of this people may have been useful to them, as it obliged them to rely upon a small number of virtuous and enlightened citizens, who led them farther than they would have proceeded, without a guide, had they consulted only their own dispositions. For it must be allowed, that Virginia stepped forth with a good grace, at the very commencement of the troubles; that she was the first to offer succours to the Bostonians, and the first also to set on foot a considerable body of troops. But it may likewise be observed, that as soon as the new legislature was established, and when, instead of leaders, she had a government, and the mass of citizens was taking part in that government the national character prevailed, and everything went worse and worse. Thus states, like individuals, were born with a particular complexion, the bad effects of which may be corrected by regimen and habits, but can never be entirely changed. Thus legislators, like physicians, ought never to flatter themselves that they can bestow, at pleasure, a particular temperament on bodies politic, and strive to discover what they already have, and thence study to remedy the inconveniencies, and multiply the advantages resulting from it. A general glance at the different States of America will serve to justify this opinion. The people of New England had no other motive for settling in the New World, than to escape from the arbitrary power of their monarchs, who, at once, sovereigns of the state, and heads of the church, exercised at that period the double tyranny of despotism and intolerance. They were not adventurers, they were men who wished to live in peace, and who laboured for their subsistence. Their principles taught them equality,

and disposed them to industrious pursuits. The soil, naturally barren, affording them but scanty resources, they attached themselves to fishing and navigation; and at this hour, they are still friends to equality and industry; they are fishermen and navigators. The states of New York and the Jerseys, were peopled by necessitous Dutchmen who wanted land in their own country, and occupied themselves more about domestic economy than the public government. These people have preserved the same character; their interests, their efforts, so to speak, are personal; their views are concentrated in their families, and it is only from necessity that these families are formed into a State. Accordingly, when General Burgoyne was on his march to Albany, the New Englandmen chiefly contributed to impede his progress; and, if the inhabitants of the State of New York and of the Jerseys have often taken arms, and displayed courage, it is because the former were animated by an inveterate hatred against the savages, which generally preceded the English armies, and the latter were excited to take personal vengeance for the excesses committed by the troops of the enemy when they over-ran the country. If you go further to the south, and pass the Delaware, you will find that the government of Pennsylvania, in its origin, was found on two very opposite principles; it was a government of property, a government in itself feudal, or, if you will, patriarchal, but the spirit of which was the greatest toleration, and the most compleat liberty. Penn's family at first formed the vain project of establishing a sort of Utopia, or perfect government, and afterwards of deriving the greatest possible advantage from their immense property, by attracting foreigners from all parts. Here it arises that the people of Pennsylvania have no characteristic assimilation, that they are intermingled and confounded, and more actuated to individual, than to pub-

lic liberty, more inclined to anarchy than to democracy. Maryland, subject in the first instance to a proprietary government, and considered only as a private domain, remained long in a state of the most absolute dependence. This is the first time she merits to be regarded as a state; but this state seems to be forming under good auspices; she may become of great weight after the present revolution, because she was formerly of no significance.

The two Carolinas and Georgia are next to be considered; but I am not sufficiently acquainted with these three states to hazard on them any observation, which may not be so just in fact as they appear to me; but which are at least of a delicate nature, and require more than superficial examination. I only know, that North Carolina, peopled by Scotsmen, brought thither by poverty, rather than by industry, is a prey to acts of pillage, and to internal dissensions; that South Carolina, possessing a commerce, wholly of exportation owes its existence to its sea-ports, especially to that of Charlestown, which has rapidly increased, and is become a commercial town, in which strangers abound, as at Marseilles and Amsterdam; that the manners there are consequently polished and easy; that the inhabitants love pleasure, the arts, and society; and that this country is more European in its manners than any in America.

Now if there be any accuracy in this sketch, let me desire the reader to compare the spirit of the American State with their present government. I desire him to form the comparison at the present moment, in twenty, or in fifty years hence, and I am persuaded, that since all these governments resemble each other, as they are all democratical, he will still discover the traces of that original character, of that spirit which presides at the formation of people, and at the establishment of nations.

Virginia will retain this discriminating character longer than the other States; whether it be that prejudices are more durable, the more absurd, and the more frivolous they are, or that those which injure a part only of the human race, are more subject to remark than those which affect all mankind. In the present revolution, the ancient families have seen, with pain, new men occupying distinguished situations in the army, and in the magistracy; and the Tories have even hence drawn advantages, to cool the ardour of the less zealous of the Whigs. But the popular party have maintained their ground, and it is only to be regretted that they have not displayed the same activity in combating the English, as in disputing precedences. It is to be apprehended, however, that circumstances becoming favourable to them, on a peace, they may be obliged entirely to give way, or to support themselves by factions, which must necessarily disturb the order of society.

The established religion, previous to the Revolution, was that of the Church of England, which we know requires Episcopacy, and that every priest must be ordained by a bishop. Before the war, persons destined to the church, went to England, to study and to be ordained. It is impossible, therefore, in the present circumstances, to supply the vacancies of the pastors who drop off. What has been the consequence of this? That the churches have remained shut; the people have done without a pastor, and not a thought has been employed towards any settlement of an English church, independent of England. The most complete toleration is established; but the other communions have made no acquisition from the losses of the former; each sect has remained in its original situation; and this sort of religious interrignum, has been productive of no disorder. The clergy have besides received a severe check in the new constitution, which excludes them from



all share in the government, even from the right of voting at elections. It is true, that the judges and lawyers are subjected to the same exclusion, but that is from another motive; to prevent the public interest from falling into competition with that of individuals. The legislator dreaded the re-action of these interests; it has been thought proper, in short, to form a sort of separate body in the State, under the name of the Judicial Body. These general views are perhaps salutary in themselves; but they are attended with an inconvenience at the present moment; for the lawyers, who are certainly the most enlightened part of the community, are removed from the civil councils, and the administration is entrusted either to ignorant, or to the least skilful men. This is the principal objection made in the country to the present form of Government, which to me appears excellent in many respects. It is everywhere in print, and easily to be procured; but I shall endeavour to give a sketch of it in a few words. It is composed, 1st, of the Assembly of Deputies, named by the cities and counties, a body corresponding with the House of Commons. 2dly, of a Senate, the members of which are elected by several united counties, in a greater or less number, according to the population of the counties, which answers to the House of Peers. 3dly, of an Executive Council, of which the Governor is president, and the members chosen by the two Chambers; a substitute for the executive power of the King of England.

It is not by accident that I have postponed the consideration of everything respecting the progress of the Arts and Sciences in this country, until the conclusion of my reflections in Virginia. I have done it expressly, because the mind, after bestowing its attention on the variety of human institution, reposes itself with pleasure on those

which tend to the perfection of the understanding, and the progress of information; and above all, because having found myself under the necessity of speaking less advantageously of this State than I wished to have done, I am happy to conclude with an article, which is wholly in their commendation. The College of William and Mary, whose founders are announced by the very name, is a noble establishment which embellishes Williamsburg, and does honour to Virginia. The beauty of the edifice is surpassed by the richness of its library, and that, still farther, by the distinguished merit of several of the Professors, such as the Doctors Maddison, Wythe, Bellini, etc., etc., who may be regarded as living books, at once affording precepts and examples. I must likewise add, that the zeal of these Professors has been crowned with the most distinguished success, and that they have already formed many distinguished characters, ready to serve their country in the various departments of government. Amongst these, it is with pleasure I mention Mr. Short, with whom I was particularly connected. After doing justice to the exertions of the University of Williamsburg, for such is the College of William and Mary; if it be necessary for its further glory to cite miracles, I shall only observe that they created me a Doctor of Laws.

Williamsburg,  
1st of May 1782.

#### A JOURNEY INTO NEW HAMPSHIRE, THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS AND UPPER PENNSYLVANIA

[By change of commanding officers in October 1782, Chastellux marched with a portion of the troops to Hartford. On this journey the Translator claims to have attended the French army from Alexandria to the North

river. Chastellux being detained according to the military plans in Hartford, determined to avail himself of the opportunity to visit the upper part of the State of Massachusetts and New Hampshire which he had not yet seen. Setting out on the 4th of November with Messrs. Lynch, de Montesquieu, Baron de Taleyrand, and M. de Vandrenil they followed the Bolton road passed through the township of Coventry, the township of Ashford and "Woodstock meeting." On the 6th they travel toward Concord "where the first blood was shed, which commenced the Civil War." They pass through Grafton after which they passed "Blackstone river." They then journeyed by Marlborough where there were "handsome houses and more collected than in the other towns and townships."]

We at length entered a wood, which conducted us to the river of Concord, or Billerica, over which we passed by a bridge about a mile from the Meeting, and at the same distance from Mr. John's, where it was near nine o'clock before we arrived. This is an excellent inn, kept by a most determined Whig, who acted his part in the affair of Concord. Major Pitcairn, who commanded the English on this occasion, had lodged frequently at his house, in travelling through the country in disguise; a method he had sometimes taken, though very dangerous, of gaining information to communicate to General Gage. The day on which he headed the English troops to Concord, he arrived at seven in the morning, followed by a company of grenadiers, and went immediately to Mr. John's tavern, the door of which being shut, he knocked several times, and on the refusal to open it, ordered his grenadiers to force it. Entering it himself the first, he pushed Mr. John with such violence as to throw him down, and afterwards placed a guard over him, frequently insisting on his pointing out the magazines of the rebels. The Americans had, in fact,

collected some cannon and warlike stores at Concord, but having received timely notice in the night they had removed everything into the woods, except three twenty-four pounders, which remained in the prisonyard, of which Mr. John was the keeper. Major Pitcairn carrying his violence so far as to clap a pistol to his throat, Mr. John, who had himself been in a passion, grew calm, and tried to pacify the English commander. He assured him that there were only the above three pieces at Concord, and that he should see them if he would follow him. He conducted him to the prison, where the English entered, he says, in a rage, at seeing the Yankees so expert in mounting cannon, and in providing themselves with everything necessary for the service of artillery, such as sponges, rammers, etc. Major Pitcairn made his men destroy the carriages, and break the trunnions; then ordered the prison to be set open, where he found two prisoners, one of whom, being a Tory, he released.

The first moments of trouble and vivacity being over, Major Pitcairn returned to Mr. John's where he breakfasted, and paid for it. The latter resumed his station of innkeeper; numbers of the English came to ask for rum, which he measured out as usual, and made them pay exactly. In the meantime, the Americans, who had passed the river in their retreat, began to rally, and to unite with those, who, apprized by the alarm bells, and various expresses, were coming to their assistance. The disposition Major Pitcairn had to make for his security, whilst he was employed in searching for, and destroying the ammunition, was by no means difficult; it was only necessary to place strong guards at the two bridges to the North and South, which he had done. Towards ten o'clock in the morning, the firing of musquetry was heard at the North Bridge, on which the English rallied at the place appoint-

ed, on a height, in a church-yard situated to the right of the road, and opposite the town-house. Three hundred Americans, who were assembled on the other side of the river, descended from the heights by a winding road which leads obliquely to the bridge, but which, at sixty paces from the river, turns to the left, and comes straight upon it. Until they had reached this angle, they had their flank covered by a small stone wall; but when they came to this point, they marched up boldly to the bridge, which they found the enemy employed in breaking down. The latter fired the first, but the Americans fell upon them, and they easily gave way, which appears rather extraordinary. Mr. John affirms, that the English at first imagined the Americans had no ball, but that they soon found their error, on seeing several of their soldiers wounded. They even speak here of an officer, who informed his men that they had nothing to fear, for that the Americans had only powder; but a drummer who was near him receiving at the moment a musket shot, replied, "Take care of that powder, Captain." The English had three men killed here, and several wounded, two of them were officers. The Americans now passed the bridge, and formed immediately on a small eminence, to the left of the road, as they were situated, and a short cannon shot from that on which the English were collected. There they remained some time watching each other; but the sight of some houses on fire irritated the Americans, and determined them to march towards the English, who then retreated by the Lexington road, which forming an elbow, the Americans, who knew the country, took the string of the bow, and got up with them before they advanced a mile. It was here the retreating fight began, of which everybody has seen the accounts, and which continued to Lexington, where the English were joined by the reinforcements under the command of Earl Percy.

It was on the morning of the 8th that I examined the field of battle at Concord, which took me up till half past ten, when I resumed my journey. Ten miles from Concord is Bellerika, a pretty considerable township; the country here was less fertile, and the road rather stony. We halted at South Andover, five miles beyond Billerika, at a bad inn, kept by one Forster; his wife had some beautiful children, but she appeared disordered, and I thought her rather drunk. She shewed me, with much importance, a book her eldest daughter was reading, and I found it, to my no small surprise, to be a book of prayers in Italian. This daughter, who was about seventeen, repeated also a prayer in the Indian language, of which she understood not a word, having learnt it accidentally from an Indian servant; but her mother thought all this admirable. We contented ourselves with baiting our horses in this wretched alehouse, and setting out at half past one, travelled through South and North Andover. North-Parish, or North Andover, is a charming place, where there are a great number of very handsome houses, a quantity of meadows, and fine cattle. Almost on quitting this long township, you enter Bradford, where night overtook us, and we travelled two or three miles in the dark before we reached Haverhill ferry. It was half past six before we had crossed it, and got to Mr. Harward's inn, where we had a good supper, and good lodgings. At Haverhill, the Merimack is only fit for vessels of thirty tons, but much larger ones are built there, which are floated down empty to Newbury. Three miles above Haverhill are falls, and higher up the river is only navigable for boats. The trade of this town formerly consisted in timber for ship-building which has been suspended since the war. It is pretty considerable and tolerably well built; and its situation, in the

form of an amphitheatre on the left shore of the Merimack, gives it many agreeable aspects.

[The author visited Exeter and speaks of the beauty of the country between Haverhill and Portsmouth. He went on board the ship of war "Auguste" and gives a description of the harbor and fortifications. He speaks of a bad explosion and some loss of life on the "Auguste, caused by thunder." He then visited Newbury, Salem and on arriving at Boston attended a "subscription ball." On his way to Cambridge he traversed the field of battle of Bunker's Hill and crossed the old entrenched camp at Cambridge.]

On the 17th, I breakfasted with several artillery officers, who had arrived with their troops; their corps having greatly preceded the rest of the infantry, in order to have time to embark their cannon, and other stores. At eleven I mounted my horse, and went to Cambridge, to pay a visit to Mr. Willard, the President of that University. My route, though short, it being scarce two leagues from Boston to Cambridge, required me to travel both by sea and land, and to pass through a field of battle, and an entrenched camp. It has been long said that the route to Parnassus is difficult, but the obstacle we have there to encounter, are rarely of the same nature with those which were in my way. A view of the chart of the road, and town of Boston, will explain this better than the most elaborate description. The reader will see that this town, one of the most ancient in America, and which contains from twenty to five and twenty thousand inhabitants, is built upon a peninsula in the bottom of a large bay, the entrance of which is difficult and in which lie dispersed a number of islands, that serve still further for its defence; it is only accessible one way on the land side, by a long

neck or tongue of land, surrounded by the sea on each side, forming a sort of causeway. To the Northward of the town is another peninsula, which adheres to the opposite shore by a very short rock, and on this peninsula is an eminence called Bunker's-hill, at the foot of which are the remains of the little town of Charlestown. Cambridge is situated to the North-west, about two miles from Boston; but to go there in a straight line, you must cross a pretty considerable arm of the sea, in which are dangerous shoals, and upon the coast morasses difficult to pass; so that the only communication between the whole northern part of the Continent, and the town of Boston, is by the ferry of Charlestown, or that of Winissimet. The road to Cambridge lies through the field of battle of Bunker's-hill. After an attentive examination of that post, I could find nothing formidable in it; for the Americans had scarcely time to form a breastwork, that is, a slight retrenchment without a ditch, which shelters the men from musquet shot, as high as the breast. Their obstinate resistance therefore, and the prodigious loss sustained by the English on this occasion, must be attributed solely to their valour. The British troops were repulsed on all sides, and put in such disorder, that General Howe is said to have been at one time left single in the field of battle, until General Clinton arrived with a reinforcement, and turned the left of the American position, which was weaker and more accessible on that side. It was then that General Warren, who was formerly a physician, fell, and the Americans quitted the field, less perhaps from the superiority of the enemy, than from knowing that they had another position as good, behind the neck which leads to Cambridge; for, in fact, that of Bunker's-hill was useful only inasmuch as it commanded Charlestown ferry, and allowed them to raise batteries



against the town of Boston. But was it necessary to expose themselves to the destruction of their own houses, and the slaughter of their fellow citizens, only that they might harass the English in any asylum which sooner or later they must abandon? Besides that, the Americans could not occupy the heights of Bunker's-hill, the sloops and frigates of the enemy taking them in flank the instant they descended from them. Such, however, was the effect of this memorable battle, in every respect honourable for our allies, that it is impossible to calculate the consequences of a complete victory. The English, who had upwards of eleven hundred men killed and wounded, in which number were seventy officers, might possibly have lost as many more in their retreat, for they were under the necessity of embarking to return to Boston, which would have been almost impracticable, without the protection of their shipping; the little army of Boston would in that case have been almost totally destroyed, and the town must of course have been evacuated. But what would have been the result of this? Independence was not then declared, and the road to negociation was still open; an accommodation might have taken place between the Mother Country and her colonies, and animosities might have subsided. The separation not having been compleated, England would not have expended one hundred millions; she would have preserved Minorca and the Floridas; not would the balance of Europe, and the liberty of the seas have been restored. For it must in general be admitted, that England alone has reason to complain of the manner in which the fate of arms has decided this long quarrel.

Scarcely have you passed the neck which joins the peninsula to the Continent, and which is hemmed in on one side by the mouth of the Mystick, and on the other by a bay called Milk Pond, than you see the ground rising

before you, and you distinguish on several eminences the principal forts which defended the entrenched camp at Cambridge. The left of this camp was bounded by the river, and the right extended towards the sea, covering this town which lay in the rear. I examined several of these forts, particularly that of Prospecthill. All these entrenchments seemed to me to be executed with intelligence; nor was I surprised that the English respected them the whole winter of 1776. The American troops, who guarded this post, passed the winter at their ease, in good barracks, well flanked, and well covered; they had at that time abundance of provisions, whilst the English, notwithstanding their communication with the sea, were in want of various essential articles, particularly firewood and fresh meat. Their government, not expecting to find the Americans so bold and obstinate, provided too late for the supply of the little army at Boston. This negligence, however, they endeavoured to repair, and spared nothing for that purpose, by freighting a great number of vessels, in which they crowded a vast number of sheep, oxen, hogs, and poultry of every kind; but these ships, sailing at a bad season of the year, met with gales of wind in going out of port and were obliged to throw the greatest part of their cargoes into the sea; insomuch that, it is said, the coast of Ireland, and the adjoining ocean, were for some time covered with herds, which unlike those of Proteus, were neither able to live amidst the waves, nor gain the shore. The Americans, on the contrary, who had the whole continent at their disposal, and had neither exhausted their resources, nor their credit, lived happy and tranquil in their barracks, awaiting the succours promised them in the spring. Those succours were offered and furnished with much generosity by the Southern Provinces; provinces, with which, under the

English Government, they had no connexion whatever, and which were more foreign to them than the mother country. It was already a great mark of confidence, therefore, on the part of the New Englanders, to count upon that aid which was offered by generosity alone; but who could foresee that a citizen of Virginia, who, for the first time, visited these northern countries, not only should become their liberator, but should even know how to erect trophies, to serve as a base to the great edifice of Liberty? Who could foresee that the enterprise, which failed at Bunker's Hill, at the price even of the blood of the brave Warren, and that of a thousand English sacrificed to his valour, attempted on another side and conducted by General Washington, should be the work only of one night, the effect of a simple manœuvre, of a single combination? Who could foresee, in short, that the English would be compelled to evacuate Boston, and to abandon their whole artillery and all their ammunition, without costing the life of a single soldier?

To attain this important object, it was only necessary to occupy the heights of Dorchester, which formed another peninsula, the extremity of which is within cannon shot of Boston, and in a great measure commands the port; but it required the eye of General Washington to appreciate the importance of this post; it required his activity and resolution to undertake to steal a march upon the English, who surrounded it with their shipping, and who could transport troops thither with the greatest facility. But it required still more; nothing short of the power, or rather the great credit he had already acquired in the army, and the discipline he had established, were requisite to effect a general movement of the troops encamped at Cambridge and at Roxbury, and carry his plan into execution, in one night, with such celerity and silence, as that the

English should only be apprized of it, on seeing, at the break of day, entrenchments already thrown up, and batteries ready to open upon them. Indeed he had carried his precautions so far, as to order the whips to be taken from the waggoners, lest their impatience, and the difficulty of the roads might induce them to make use of them, and occasion an alarm. It is not easy to add to the astonishment naturally excited by the principal, and above all, by the early events of this memorable war; but I must mention, that whilst General Washington was blockading the English in Boston, his army was in such want of powder as not to have three rounds a man; and that if a bomb-ketch had not chanced to run on shore in the road, containing some tons of powder, which fell into the hands of the Americans, it would have been impossible to attempt the affair of Dorchester; as without it, they had not wherewithal to serve the batteries proposed to be erected.

I apprehend that nobody will be displeased at this digression; but should it be otherwise, I must observe, that in a very short excursion I had made to Boston, eighteen months before, having visiting all the retrenchments at Roxbury and Dorchester, I thought it unnecessary to return thither, and I was the less disposed to it from the rigour of the season, and the short time I had to remain at Boston. But how is it possible to enter into a few details of this so justly celebrated town, without recalling the principal events which have given it renown. But how, above all, resist the pleasure of retracing everything which may contribute to the glory of the Americans, and the reputation of the illustrious Chief. Nor is this straying from the temple of the Muses, to consider objects which must long continue to constitute their theme. Cambridge is an asylum worthy of them; it is a little town inhabited only by students, professors, and the small num-

ber of servants and workmen whom they employ. The building destined for the University is noble and commanding, though it be not yet compleated; it already contains three handsome halls for the classes, a cabinet of natural philosophy, and instruments of every kind, as well for astronomy, as for the sciences dependant on mathematics; a vast gallery, in which the library is placed, and a chapel corresponding with the grandeur and magnificence of the other parts of the edifice. The library, which is already numerous, and which contains handsome editions of the best authors, and well bound books, owes its richness to the zeal of several citizens, who, shortly, before the war, formed a subscription, by means of which they began to send for books from England. But as their fund was very moderate, they availed themselves of their connections with the mother country, and, above all, of that generosity which the English invariably display whenever the object is, to propagate useful knowledge in any part of the world. These zealous citizens not only wrote to England, but made several voyages thither in search of assistance, which they readily obtained. One individual alone, made them a present to the amount of 500 sterling; I wish I could recollect his name, but it is easy to discover it. It is inscribed in letters of gold over the compartment containing the books which he bestowed, and which form a particular library. For it is the rule, that each donation to the University shall remain as it was received, and occupy a place apart; a practice better adapted to encourage the generosity of benefactors, and to express gratitude, than to facilitate the librarian's labour, or that of the students. It is probable therefore, that, as the collection is augmenting daily, a more commodious arrangement will be adopted.

The professors of the University live in their own houses, and the students board in the town for a moderate

price. Mr. Willard, who was just elected President, is also a member of the academy of Boston, to which he acts as Secretary of the foreign correspondence. We had already had some intercourse with each other, but it pleased me to have the opportunity of forming a more particular acquaintance with him; he unites to great understanding and literature, a knowledge of the abstruse sciences, and particularly astronomy. I must here repeat, what I have observed elsewhere, that in comparing our universities and our studies in general, with those of the Americans, it would not be to our interest to call for a decision of the question, which of the two nations should be considered an infant people.

The short time I remained at Cambridge allowed me to see only two of the professors, and as many students, whom I either met with, or who came to visit me at Mr. Willard's. I was expected to dine with our Consul, Mr. de Letombes, and I was obliged to hurry, for they dine earlier at Boston than at Philadelphia. I found upwards of twenty persons assembled, as well French officials, as American gentlemen, in the number of whom was Doctor Cooper, a man justly celebrated, and not less distinguished by the graces of his mind, and the amiableness of his character, than by his uncommon eloquence, and patriotic zeal. He has always lived in the strictest intimacy with Mr. Hancock, and has been useful to him on more than one occasion. Amongst the Americans attached by political interest to France, no one has displayed a more marked attention to the French, nor has any man received from nature a character more analogous to their own. But it was in the sermon he delivered, at the solemn inauguration of the new constitution of Massachusetts, that he seemed to pour forth his whole soul, and develop at once all the resources of his genius, and every sentiment of his heart. The

French nation, and the monarch who governs it, are there characterized and celebrated with equal grace and delicacy. Never was there so happy, and so poignant a mixture of religion, politics, philosophy, morality, and even of literature. This discourse must be known at Paris, where I sent several copies, which I have no doubt will be eagerly translated. I hope only that it will escape the avidity of those hasty writers, who have made a sort of property of the present revolution; nothing, in fact, is more dangerous than these precipitate traders in literature, who pluck the fruit the moment they have any hopes of selling it, thus depriving us of the pleasure of enjoying it in its maturity. It is for a Sallust and a Tacitus alone to transmit in their works, the actions and harangues of their contemporaries; nor did they write till after some great change in affairs had placed an immense interval between the epoch of the history they transmitted, and that in which it was composed; the art of printing too, being then unknown, they were enabled to measure, and to moderate, at pleasure, the publicity they thought proper to give to their productions.

Doctor Cooper, whom I never quitted without regret, proposing to me to drink tea with him, I accepted it without difficulty. He received me in a very small house, furnished in the simplest manner, everything in it bore the character of a modesty which proved the feeble foundation of those colonies, so industriously propagated by the English, who lost no occasion of insinuating that his zeal for the Congress and their allies had a very different motive from patriotism and the genuine love of liberty. A visit to Mrs. Tudor, where Mr. de Vaudreuil and I had again the pleasure of an agreeable conversation, interrupted from time to time by pleasing music, rapidly brought round the hour for repairing to the club. This assembly is held every Tuesday, in rotation, at the houses of the different

members who compose it; this was the day for Mr. Russel, an honest merchant who gave us an excellent reception. The laws of the club are not straitening, the number of dishes for supper alone are limited, and there must be only two of meat, for supper is not the American repast. Vegetables, pies, and especially good wines, are not spared. The hour of assembling is after tea, when the company play at cards, converse, and read the public papers, and sit down to table between nine and ten. The supper was as free as if there had been no strangers, songs were given at table, and a Mr. Steward sung some which were very gay, with a tolerable good voice.

[After enjoying further social amenities here and playing at whist, which he observes they have a rule not to play for money, Chastellux makes some "observation on the town," speaks of the enormous tax the necessities of war imposed upon the commerce of Boston. He departed and joined the troops at Providence, notes the improvements of the country through which he traveled two years before and arrived at Newborough.]

The 5th we set out at nine, and rode, without stopping, at Fish-kill, where we arrived at half past two, after a four and twenty miles journey through very bad roads. I alighted at Boerorn's tavern, which I knew to be the same I had been at two years before, and kept by Mrs. Egremont. The house was changed for the better, and we made a very good supper. We passed the North-river as night came on, and arrived at six o'clock at Newburgh, where I found Mr. and Mrs. Washington, Colonel Tilgham, Colonel Humphreys and Major Walker. The head quarters of Newburgh consist of a single house, neither vast nor commodious, which is built in the Dutch fashion. The largest room in it (which was the proprietor's parlour for his family, and which General Washington has converted into



his dining-room) is in truth tolerably spacious, but it has seven doors, and only one window. The chimney, or rather the chimney back, is against the wall; so that there is in fact but one vent for the smoke, and the fire is in the room itself. I found the company assembled in a small room which served by way of parlour. At nine supper was served, and when the hour of bed time came, I found that the chamber, to which the General conducted me, was the very parlour I speak of, wherein he had made them place a camp-bed. We assembled at breakfast the next morning at ten, during which interval my bed was folded up, and my chamber became the sitting-room for the whole afternoon; for American manners do not admit of a bed in the room in which company is received, especially when there are women. The smallness of the house, and the difficulty to which I saw that Mr. and Mrs. Washington had put themselves to receive me, made me apprehensive lest Mr. Rochambeau, who was set out the day after me, by travelling as fast, might arrive on the day that I remained there. I resolved therefore to send to Fish-kill to meet him, with a request that he would stay there that night. Nor was my precaution superfluous, for my express found him already at the landing, where he slept, and did not join us till the next morning as I was setting out. The day I remained at headquarters was passed either at table or in conversation. General Hand, Adjutant General, Colonel Reed of New Hampshire, and Major Graham dined with us. On the 7th I took leave of General Washington, nor is it difficult to imagine the pain this separation gave me; but I have too much pleasure in recollecting the real tenderness with which it affected him, not to take a pride in mentioning it.

[Passing through Eastern Pennsylvania touching at Chester, Easton, Bethlehem, he arrived on the morning of

December 12 at Montgomery, and “passing through White-marsh and Germantown, they arrived towards five at Philadelphia.” The traveler was very much interested in the Moravian settlement which he studied at Bethlehem. His last journal is dated at Philadelphia December 24, 1782.]

A RAMBLE OF  
SIX THOUSAND MILES  
*Through the*  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



By  
S. A. FERRALL, ESQ.

## PREFACE

The few sketches contained in this small volume were not originally intended for publication—they were written solely for the amusement of my immediate acquaintances, and were forwarded to Europe in the shape of letters. Subsequent considerations have induced me to publish them; and if they be found to contain remarks on some subjects, which other travellers in America have passed over unnoticed, the end that I have in view will be fully answered.

Although I remained in the seaboard cities sufficiently long to have collected much information; yet knowing that the statistics of those places had been so often and so ably set before the public, I felt no inclination to trouble my friends with their repetition.

In Europe, the name of America is so associated with the idea of emigration, that to announce an intention of crossing the Atlantic rouses the interfering propensity of friends and acquaintances, and produces such a torrent of queries and remonstrances, as will require a considerable share of moral courage to listen to and resist. All are on the tiptoe of expectation, to hear what the inducements can possibly be for travelling in America. America! everyone exclaims—what can you possibly see there? A country like America—little better than a mere forest—the inhabitants notoriously far behind Europeans in refinement—filled with wild Indians, rattlesnakes, bears, and backwoodsmen; ferocious hogs and ugly negroes; and every other species of noxious and terrific animal!

Without, however, any definite scientific object, or indeed any motive much more important than a love of novelty, I determined on visiting America; within whose

wide extent all the elements of society, civilized and uncivilized, were to be found—where the great city could be traced to the infant town—where villages dwindle into scattered farms—and these to the hog-house of the solitary backwoodsman, and the temporary wigwam of the wandering Pawnee.

I have refrained nearly altogether from touching on the domestic habits and manners of the Americans, because they have been treated of by Captain Hall and others; and as the Americans always allowed me to act as I thought proper, and even to laugh at such of their habits as I thought singular, I am by no means inclined to take exception to them.

[NOTE:—Like most of the English writers of those days, Ferrall was not particularly generous toward the “Americans” in his comments. The work was published in London and it will be noted the latest date quotation he gives, on page 513, is dated September, 1831.—The Publisher.]

## FERRALL'S RAMBLES

[As stated by Ferrall in his preface, in his "Rambles of 6000 Miles in America," although he had visited the seaboard cities of this country as well as the interior, he passes over any description of them for the reason that these places have been dwelt upon and described by many other travelers; and it is for the same reason that the publisher passes over any reference he makes to other parts of this country and makes the selections he does from Ferrall's writings. De Warville and Chastellux in their works presented in the proceeding pages of this volume, have covered the ground exceedingly well, and Ferrall in the selections chosen, treats of another locality and other places worthy of reproduction in such a work as this.]

At Tonawanta I again took the canal-boat to Buffalo, a considerable town on the shores of lake Erie, and at the head of the canal navigation. There are several good buildings in this town, and some well-appointed hotels. Lake schooners, and steam and canal boats are here in abundance, it being an entreport for western produce and eastern merchandise. A few straggling Indians are to be seen skulking about Buffalo, like dogs in Cairo, the victims of the inordinate use of ardent spirits.

From Buffalo I proceeded in a steamer along lake Erie, to Portland in Ohio, now called Sandusky City; the distance of 240 miles. After about an hour's sail, we entirely lost sight of the Canadian shores. The scenery on the American side is very fine, particularly from Presqu Isle onward to the head of the lake, or rather from its magnitude, it might be termed an inland sea.

On landing at Sandusky, I learned that there were several Indian reserves between that place and Columbus, the seat of government. This determined me on making a

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Note—Presqu Isle (Erie, Pa.).

pedestrian tour to that city. Accordingly, having forwarded my luggage, and made other necessary arrangements, I commenced my peregrinations among the Aborigines.

The woods in the upper part of Ohio, nearest the lake, are tolerably open, and occasionally interspersed with sumach and sassafras; the soil somewhat sandy. I met with but few Indians, until my arrival at Lower Sandusky, on the Sandusky river; here there were several groups returning to their reserves, from Canada, where they had been to receive the annual presents made them by the British government. In the next county (Seneca) there is a reservation of about three miles square, occupied by Senecas, Cayugas, and part of the Iroquois or six nations, once a most powerful confederation amongst the red men.

[Note: DeWitt Clinton, speaking of the Iroquois, or five nations, says, "Their exterior relations, general interests, and national affairs, were conducted and superintended by a great council, assembled annually in Onondaga, the central canton, composed of the chiefs of each republic; and eighty sachems were frequently convened at this national assembly. It took cognizance of the great questions of war and peace; of the affairs of the tributary nations, and their negociations with the French and English colonies. All their proceedings were conducted with great deliberations, and were distinguished for order, decorum, and solemnity. In eloquence, in dignity, and in all the characteristics of profound policy, they surpassed the assembly of feudal barons, and perhaps were not inferior to the great Amphictyonic Council of Greece."]

In Crawford county there is a very large reserve belonging to the Huron or Wyandot Indians. These, though speaking a dialect of the Iroquois tongue, are more in connexion with the Delawares than with the Iroquois. The Wyandots are much esteemed by their white neighbours,

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Note—Lower Sandusky (Fremont, Ohio).

for probity and good behaviour. They dress very tastefully. A handsome chintz shawl tied in the Moorish fashion about the head—leggings of blue cloth, reaching half way up the thigh, sewn at the outside, leaving a hem of about an inch deep—mocassins, or Indian boots, made of deer skin, to fit the foot close, like a glove—a shirt or tunic of white calico and a hunting shirt, or frock, made of strong blue figured cotton or woollen cloth, with a small fringed cape, and long sleeves—a tomahawk and scalping knife stuck in a broad leather belt. Accoutered in this manner, and mounted on a small hardy horse, called here an Indian pony, imagine a tall, athletic, brown man, with black hair and eyes—the hair generally plaited in front, and sometimes hanging in long wavy curls behind—aquiline nose, and fearless aspect, and you have a fair idea of the Wyandot and Cayuga Indian. The Senecas and Oneidas whom I met with, were not so handsome in general, but as athletic, and about the same average height—five feet nine or ten.

The Indians here, as everywhere else, are governed by their own laws, and never have recourse to the whites to settle their disputes. That silent unbending spirit, which has always characterized the Indian, has alone kept in check the rapacious disposition of the whites. Several attempts have been made to induce the Indians to sell their lands, and go beyond the Mississippi, but hitherto without effect. The Indian replies to the fine speeches and wily language of the whites, "We hold this small bit of land, in the vast country of our fathers, by your written talk, and it is noted of our wampums—the bones of our fathers lie here, and we cannot forsake them. You tell us our great father (the president) is powerful, and that his arm is long and strong—we believe it is so; but



we are in hopes that he will not strike his red children for their lands, and that he will leave us this little piece to live upon—the hatchet is long buried, let it not be disturbed.”

Jackson has lately published a manifesto to all the Indian tribes within the limits of the United States, commanding them to sell their reserves; and with few exceptions, has been answered in this manner.

A circumstance occurred a few days previous to my arrival, in the Seneca reserve, which may serve to illustrate the determined character of the Indian. There were three brothers (chiefs) dwelling in this reservation. “Seneca John,” the eldest brother, was the principal chief of the tribe, and a man much esteemed by the white people. He died by poison. The chiefs in council, having satisfactorily ascertained that his second brother “Red-hand,” and a squaw, had poisoned him, decreed that Red-hand must die, he himself would kill him, in order to prevent feuds arising in the tribe. Accordingly in the evening he repaired to the hut of Red-hand, and after having sat in silence for some time, said, “My best chiefs say, you have killed my father’s son—they say my brother must die.” Red-hand merely replied, “They say so;” and continued to smoke. After about fifteen minutes further silence, Black-snake said, pointing to the setting sun, “When he appears above those trees”—moving his arm round to the opposite direction—“I come to kill you.” Red-hand nodded his head in the short significant style of the Indian, and said “Good.” The next morning Black-snake came, followed by two chiefs, and having entered the hut, first put out the squaw, he then returned and stood before his brother, his eyes bent on the ground. Red-hand said calmly, “Has my brother come that I may die?” “It is so,” was the reply. “Then,”

exclaimed Red-hand, grasping his brother's left hand with his right, and dashing the shawl from his head, "Strike sure!" In an instant the tomahawk was from the girdle of Black-snake and buried in the skull of the unfortunate man. He received several blows before he fell, uttering the exclamation "hugh," each time. The Indians placed him on the grass to die, where the backwoodsman who told me the story, saw him after the lapse of two hours, and life was not then extinct—with such tenacity does it cling to the body of an Indian. The scalping knife was at length passed across his throat, and thus ended the scene.

From Sandusky city, in Huron county, I passed into Sandusky county, and from thence through Seneca county. These three counties are entirely woodlands, with the exception of a few small prairies which lay eastward of my course. The land is generally fertile. Some light sandy soil is occasionally to be met with, which produces more quickly than the heavier soil, but not so abundantly. I saw in my travels through these counties a few persons who were ill of ague-fever, as it is here called. The prevalence of this disease is not to be attributed to a general unhealthiness of the climate, but can at all times be referred to localities.

I next entered Crawford county, and crossed the Wyandot prairie, about seven miles in length, to Upper Sandusky. This was the first of those extensive meadows I had seen, and I was much pleased with its appearance—although this prairie is comparatively but small, yet its beauty cannot be surpassed; and the groves, and clusters of trees, *iles de bois*, with which it is interspersed, make it much resemble a beautiful domain.

Attached to the Wyandot reserve (nine miles by sixteen) is that of the Delawares (three miles square). On

reaching Little Sandusky—Kahama's curse on the town baptizers of America!—there are often five or six places named alike in one state; upper and lower, little and big, great and small—and invariably the same names that are given to towns in one state, are to be found in every other. Then their vile plagiarisms of European names causes a Babelonish confusion of ideas, enough to disturb the equanimity of a "grisly saint;" and, with all humility, I disclaim having any pretensions to that character. I have frequently heard a long-legged, sallow-looking backwoodsman talk of having come lately from Paris, or Mecca, when instead of meaning the capital of La grande nation, or the city of "the holy prophet," he spoke of some town containing a few hundred inhabitants, situated in the backwoods of Kentucky, or amidst the gloomy forests of Indiana. The Americans too speak in prospective, when they talk of great places; no doubt "calculating" that, one day, all the mighty productions of the old world will be surpassed by their ingenuity and perseverance.

I reached Little Sandusky about one o'clock in the day, and there learned that there was a treaty being holden with the Delawares—accordingly I repaired to the council ground. On a mat, under the shade of seven large elm trees, which in more prosperous times had waved over the warlike ancestors of this unfortunate people, were seated three old sachems, the principals of the tribe. The oldest, appeared to be nearly eighty years of age, the next about seventy, and the last about fifty. On a chair to the right of the Indians was seated a young "half-breed" chief, the son of one of the sachems by a white squaw; and on their left, seated on another chair, a Delaware dressed in the costume of the whites. This young man was in the pay of the States, and acted as interpreter—he interpreting into

and from the Delaware language, and a gentleman of the mission (a Captain Walker) into and from the Wyandot. At a table opposite the Indians were seated the commissioners.

The Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, as they were called by the English, from the circumstance of their holding their great "Council-fire" on the banks of the Delaware river, were once the most powerful of the several tribes that spoke the Delaware tongue, and possessed an immense tract of country east of the Alleghany mountains. This unfortunate people had been driven from place to place, until at last they were obliged to accept of any asylum from the Wyandot, whom they call their uncle; and now are forced to sell this, and go beyond the Mississippi. To a reflecting mind, the scene was touching beyond description. Here was the sad remnant of a great nation, who having been forced back from the original country of their fathers, by successive acts of rapacity, are now compelled to enter into a compact which obliges them, half civilized as they are, to return to the forest. The case is this—the white people, or rather Jackson and the southern, say, that the Indians retard improvement—precisely in the same sense that a brigand, when he robs a traveller, might say, that the traveller retarded improvement—that is, retarded his improvement, inasmuch as he had in his pocket, what would improve the condition of the brigand. The Indians have cultivated farms, and valuable tracts of land, and no doubt it will improve the condition of the whites, to get possession of those farms and rich lands, for one-tenth of their salable value. The profits they have accrued to the United States from the systematic plunder of the Indians, are immense, and a great portion of the national debt has been liquidated by this dishonest means.

(See note attached.)	dollars
Amount of lands sold up to the year 1824...	44,229,837
173,176,606 acres unsold, estimated at one dollar per acre. The Congress price was then two dollars, but was subsequently reduced to a dollar and a quarter, and is now 75 cents .....	173,176,606
	<hr/>
	217,406,443
Deduct value of annuities, expenses of surveying, etc., etc., being the amount of purchase-money paid for same .....	4,243,632
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Profit arising to the United States from purchases of land from the Indians .....	213,162,811
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Allowing 480 cents to the pound sterling, the gross profit is L. 44, 408, 918.19s. 2d.

The reserve of the Delawares contained nine square miles, or 5,769 acres. For this it was agreed at the treaty, that they should be paid 6,000 dollars, and the value of the improvements, which I conceived to be a fair bargain. I was not then aware of the practice pursued by the government, of making deductions, under various pretences, from the purchase-money, until the unfortunate Indian is left scarcely anything in lieu of his lands, and says, that "the justice of the white man is not like the justice of the red man," and that he cannot understand the honesty of his Christian brother. The following extract, taken from the New York American, will give some insight into the mode of dealing with the Indians.

"The last of the Ottawas.—Maumee Bay, Ohio, Sept. 3, 1831.—Mr. James B. Gardiner has concluded a very important treaty at Maumee Bay, in Michigan, for a cession

of all the lands owned by the Ottawa Indians in Ohio, about 50,000 acres. It was attended with more labour and greater difficulties than any other treaty made in this state; it was the last foothold which that savage, warlike, and hostile tribe held in their ancient dominion. The conditions of this treaty are very similar to those treaties of Lewistown and Wapaghkenetta, with this exception, that the surplus avails of their lands, after deducting seventy cents per acre to indemnify the government, are to be appropriated for paying the debts of their nation, which amount to about 20,000 dollars." (Query, what are those debts?—could they be the amount of presents made them on former occasions?) "The balance, if any, accrues to the tribe. Seventy thousand acres of land are granted to them west of the Mississippi. [Note: Lands west of the Mississippi which would be dear at ten cents per hundred acres.] "The Ottowas are the most depredating, drunken, and ferocious in Ohio. The reservations ceded by them are very valuable, and those on the Miami of the lake embrace some of the best mill privileges in the State."

The Delawares were too few (being but fifty-one in number) to contend the matter, and therefore accepted of the proposed terms. At the conclusion of the conference, the Commissioners told them that they should have a barrel of flour, with the beef that had been killed for the occasion, which was received with "Yo-ha! yo-ha!" Then they said, laughing, "that they hoped their father would allow them a little milk," meaning whisky, which was accordingly granted. They drank of this modern Lethe and forgot for a time their misfortunes.

On the Osage fork of the Merrimack river, there are two settlements of the Delawares, to the neighbourhood of which these Indians intend to remove.

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Note—Miami of the Lake (Maumee river).

Near the Delaware reserve, I fell in with a young Indian, apparently about twenty years of age, and we journeyed together for several miles through the forest. He spoke English fluently, and conformed as far as his taste would permit him, to the habits of the whites. His dress consisted of a blue frock coat, blue cloth leggings, moccasins, a shawl tied about the head, and a red sash round his waist. In conversation, I asked him if he were not a Cayuga. "No," says he, "an Oneida," placing both his hands on his breast—"a clear Oneida." I could not help smiling at his national pride; yet this is man; in every country and condition he is proud of his descent, and loves the race to which he belongs. This Oneida was a widow's son. He had sixteen acres of cleared land, which with occasional assistance, he cultivated himself. When the produce was sold, he divided the proceeds with his mother, and then set out, and travelled until his funds were exhausted. He had just then returned from a tour to New York and Philadelphia, and had visited almost every city in the Union. As Guedeldk—that was the Oneida's name—and I were rambling along, we met a negro who was journeying in great haste—he stopped to inquire if we had seen that day, or the day previous, any niggerwoman going towards the lake. I had passed the day before two waggon loads of negroes, which were being transported, by the state, to Canada. A local law prohibits the settlement of people of colour within the state of Ohio, which was now put in force, although it had remained dormant for many years.

There was much hardship in the case of this poor fellow. He had left his family at Cincinnati, and had gone to work on the canal some eighteen or twenty miles distant. He had been absent about a week; and on his return he found his house empty, and was informed that his wife

and children had been seized, and transported to Canada. The enforcement of this law has been since abandoned; and I must say, although the law itself is at variance with the Constitution of the United States, which is paramount to all other laws, that its abandonment is due entirely to the good feeling of the people of Ohio, who exclaimed loudly against the cruelty of the measure.

CHAPTER IV.

### THROUGH OHIO

From Little Sandusky, I passed through Marion, in Marion county. This town, like most others in Ohio, is advancing rapidly, and has at present several good brick buildings. The clap-boarded frame houses, which compose the great mass of habitations in the towns throughout the western country, in general have a neat appearance. I here saw gazetted three divorces, all of which had been granted on the applications of the wives. One, on the ground of the husband's absenting himself for one year; another, on account of a blow having been given; and the third for general neglect. There are few instances of a woman's being refused a divorce in the western country, as dislike very generally—and very rationally—supposed to constitute a sufficient reason for granting the ladies their freedom.

I crossed Delaware county into Franklin county, where Columbus, the Capital of the State, is situated. The roads from the lake to this city, with few exceptions, passed through woodlands, and the country is but thinly settled. Beech, oak, elm, hickory, walnut, white-oak, ash, etc., compose the bulk of the forest trees; and in the bottom lands, enormous sycamores are to be seen stretching their white arms almost to the very clouds. The land is of various denominations, but in general may be termed fertile.



Columbus, the capital of Ohio, is seated on the Scioto river, which is navigable for keel and flat boats, and small craft, almost to its source; and by means of a portage of about four miles, to Sandusky river, which flows into Lake Erie, a convenient communication is established between the lakes, and the great western waters. The town is well laid out. The streets are wide; and the court-house, town-hall, and public offices, are built of brick. There are some good taverns here, and the tables d'hotes are well and abundantly supplied.

There are land offices in every county seat, in which maps and plans of the county are kept. On these, the disposable tracts of country are distinguished from those which have been disposed of. The purchaser pays one-fourth of the purchase money, for which he gets a receipt—this constitutes his title, until, on paying the residue, he receives a regular title deed. He may however pay the full amount at once, and receive a discount of, I believe, eight per cent. A township comprises thirty-six square miles (twenty three thousand and forty acres) in sections of six hundred and forty acres each, which are subdivided, to accommodate purchasers, into quarter sections, or lots of a hundred and sixty acres. The sixteenth section is not sold, but reserved for the support of the poor, for education, and other public uses. There is no provision made in this, or any other state, for the ministers of religion, which is found to be highly beneficial to the interests of practical Christianity. The congress price of land has lately been reduced from a dollar and a quarter per acre, to seventy-five cents.

Ohio averages 184 miles in extent, from north to south, and 220 miles from east to west. Area, 40,000 square miles, or 25,600,000 acres. The population in 1790, was 3,000; in 1800, 45,365; in 1810, 230,760; and in 1820, 581,434.

White males, 300,609; white females, 275,955; free people of colour, 4,723; militia in 1821, 83,247. The last census, taken in 1830, makes the population 937,679.

Having no more Indian reserves to visit, I took the stage, and rumbled over corduroys, republicans, stumps, and ruts, until my ribs were literally sore, through London, Xenia, and Lebanon, to Cincinnati.

At Lebanon there is a large community of "Shaking Quakers." They have establishments also in Mason county, and at Covington, in Kentucky; their tenets are strictly Scriptural. They contend, that confessing their sins to one another, is necessary to a state of perfection; that the church of Christ ought to have all things in common; that none of the members of this church ought to cohabit, but be literally virgins; and that to dance and be merry is their duty, which part of their doctrines they take from the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah.

Their ceremonies are as follows: The men sit on the left hand, squatting on the floor, with their knees up, and their hands clasped round them. Opposite, in the same posture, sit the women, whose appearance is most cadaverous, and sepulchral, dressed in the Quaker costume. After sitting for some time in this hatching position, they all rise and sing a canting sort of hymn, during which the women keep time by elevating themselves on their toes. After the singing has ceased, a discourse is delivered by one of the elders; which being ended, the men pull off their coats and waistcoats. All being prepared, one of the brethren steps forward to the centre of the room, and in a loud voice gives out a tune, beating time with his foot, and singing *lal lal la, lal lal la*, etc., being joined by the whole group, all jumping as high as possible, clapping their hands, and at intervals twirling round—but making rather ungraceful pirouettes; this exercise they continue until

they are completely exhausted. In their ceremonials they much resemble the howling Dervishes of the Moslems, whom they far surpass in fanaticism.

Within about ten miles of Cincinnati, we took up an old doctor, who was going to that city for the purpose of procuring a warrant against one of his neighbours, who, he had reason to believe, was concerned in the kidnapping of a free negro the night before. This is by no means an uncommon occurrence in the free states bordering the great rivers. The unfortunate black man, when captured, is hurried down to the river, thrust into a flat boat, and carried to the plantations. Such negroes are not exposed for sale in the public bazaars, as that would be attended with risk; but a false bill of sale is made out, and the sale is affected to some planter before they reach Orleans. There is, of course, always collusion between the buyer and seller, and the man is disposed of, generally, for half his value.

These are certainly atrocious acts; yet when a British subject reads such passage as the following, in the histories of East Indian government, he must feel that if they were ten times as infamous and numerous as they are in reality, it becomes not him to censure them. Bolts, who was a judge of the mayor's court of Calcutta, says, in his "Considerations on India Affairs," page 194, "With every species of monopoly, therefore, every kind of oppression to manufacturers of all denominations throughout the whole country has daily increased; insomuch that weavers, for daring to sell their goods, and Dallals and Pykars, for having contributed to, or connived at, such sales, have by the Company's agents, been frequently seized and imprisoned, confined in irons, fined considerable sums of money, flogged, and deprived, in the most ignominious manner, of what they esteem most valuable, their castes. Weavers

also, upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced from them by the Company's agents, universally known in Bengal by the name of Mutchulcahs, have had their goods seized and sold on the spot, to make good the deficiency; and the winders of raw silk, called Nagaards, have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk. This last kind of workmen were pursued with such rigour, during Lord Clive's late government in Bengal, from a zeal for increasing the Company's investment of raw silk, that the most sacred laws of society were atrociously violated; for it was a common thing for the Company's seapoys to be sent by force of arms to break open the house of the Armenian merchants established at Sydabad (who have from time immemorial been largely concerned in the silk trade), and forcibly take the Nagaards from their work, and carry them away to the English factory."

As we approach Cincinnati the number of farms, and the extent of cultivated country, indicated the comparative magnitude of that city. Fields in this country have nothing like the rich appearance of those in England, and Ireland, being generally filled with half-rotten stumps, scattered here and there among the growing corn, producing a most disagreeable effect. Then, instead of the fragrant quickset hedge, there is a "worm fence"—the rudest description of barrier known in the country—which consists simply of bars, about eight or nine feet in length, laid zig-zag on each other alternately; the improvement on this, and the ne plus ultra in the idea of a west country former, is what is termed a "post and rail fence." This denomination of fence is to be seen sometimes in the vicinity of the larger towns, and is constructed of posts six feet in length, sunk in the ground to the depth of about a foot, and at

eight or ten feet distance; the rails are then laid into mortises cut into the posts, at intervals of about thirteen or fourteen inches, which completes the work.

Cincinnati is built on a bend of the Ohio river, which takes here a semicircular form, and runs nearly west; it afterwards flows in a more southerly direction. A complete chain of hills, sweeping from one point of the bend round to the other, encloses the city in a sort of amphitheatre. The houses are mostly brick, and the streets all paved. There are several spacious and handsome market houses, which on market days are stocked with all kinds of provisions—indeed I think the market of Cincinnati is very nearly the best supplied in the United States. There are many respectable public buildings here, such as a court-house, theatre, bazaar, (built by Mrs. Trollope, but the speculation failed), and divers churches, in which you may see well-dressed women, and hear orthodox, heterodox, and every other species of doctrine, promulgated and enforced by strength of lungs and length of argument, with pulpit-drum accompaniment, and all other requisites ad captandum vulgus.

The city stands on two plains; one called the bottom, extends about 260 yards back from the river, and is three miles in length, from Deer Creek to Mill Creek; the other is fifty feet higher than the first, and is called the Hill; this extends back about a mile. The bottom is sixty-five feet above low water mark. In 1815 the population was estimated at 6,000, and at present it is supposed to be upwards of 25,000 souls. By means of the Dayton canal, which runs from that town nearly parallel with the "Big Miami" river, a very extensive trade, for all kinds of produce, is established with the back country. Steamers are constantly arriving at and departing from the wharf, on their passage up and down the river. This is one of

the many examples to be met with in the western country, of towns springing into importance within the memory of comparatively young men—a log-house, is still standing, which is shewn as the first habitation built by the backwoodsman, who squatted in the forest where now stands a handsome and flourishing city.

A “HUSKING BEE”—CAMP MEETING—MUSTER DAY.

On arriving at Cincinnati, I learned that my friend T—— had taken up his abode at a farm-house a few miles from town, where I accordingly repaired, and found him in good health, and initiated into all the manners, habits, customs, and diversions of the natives. Farming people in Ohio work hard. The women have no sinecures, being occupied the greater part of the day in cooking; as they breakfast at eight, dine at half-past twelve, and sup at six, and at each of these meals, meat, and other cooked dishes are served up. In farming they co-operate with each other. When a farmer wishes to have his corn husked, he rides round to his neighbours and informs them of his intention. An invitation of this kind was once given in my presence. The farmer entered the house, sat down, and after the customary compliments were passed, in the usual laconic style, the following dialogue took place. “I guess I’ll husk my corn to-morrow afternoon.” “You’ve a mighty heap this year.” “Considerable of corn.” The host at length said, “Well, I guess we’ll be along”—and the matter was arranged. All these gatherings are under the denomination of “frolics”—such as “corn-husking frolic,” “apple-cutting frolic,” “quilting frolic,” etc.

Being somewhat curious in respect to national amusements, I attend a “corn-husking frolic” in the neighbourhood of Cincinnati. The corn was heaped up into a sort

of hillock close by the granary, on which the young "Ohioans" and "buck-eyes"—the lasses of Ohio are called "buck-eyes"—seated themselves in pairs; while the old wives, and old farmers were posted around, doing little, but talking much. Now the laws of "corn-husking frolic" ordain, that for each red ear that a youth finds, he is entitled to exact a kiss from his partner. There were two or three young Irishmen in the group, and I could observe the rogues kissing half-a-dozen times on the same red ears. Each of them laid a red ear close by him, and after every two or three he'd husk, up he'd hold the redoubtable red-ear to the astonished eyes of the giggling lass who sat beside him, and most unrelentingly inflict the penalty. The "gude wives" marvelled much at the unprecedented number of red ears which that lot of corn contained; by-and-by, they thought it "a kind of curious" that the Irishmen should find so many of them—at length, the cheat was discovered, amidst roars of laughter. The old farmers said the lads were "wide-awake," and the "buck-eyes" declared that there was no being up to the plaguy Irishmen "no how," for they were always sure to have everything their own way. But the mischief of it was, the young Americans took the hint, and the poor "buck-eyes" got nothing like fair play for the remainder of that evening. All agreed that there was more laughing, and more kissing done at that, than had been known at any corn-husking frolic since "the Declaration."

The farmers of Ohio are a class of people about equivalent to our second and third rate farmer, inasmuch as they work themselves, but possessing infinitely more independence in their character and deportment. Every white male, who is a citizen of the United States, and has resided one year in the state, and paid taxes, has a vote. The members of the legislature are elected annually, and those of the

senate biennially; half of the members of the latter branch vacating their seats every year. The representatives, in addition to the qualifications necessary to the elector, must be twenty-five years of age; and the senators must have resided in the state two years, and must be thirty years of age. The governor must be thirty years of age, an inhabitant of the state four years, and a citizen of the United States twelve years, he is eligible only for six years in eight.

Notwithstanding the numerous religious sects that are to be found in this country, there is nothing like sectarian animosity prevailing. This is to be attributed to the ministers of religion being paid as they deserve, and no one class of people being taxed to support the religious tenets of another.

The farmers of this state are by no means religious, in a doctrinal sense; on the contrary, they appear indifferent on the matters of this nature. The girls sometimes go to church, which here, as in all Christian countries, is equivalent to the bazaars of Smyrna and Bagdad; and as the girls go, their "dads" must pay the parson. The Methodists are very zealous, and have frequent "revivals" and "camp-meetings." I was at two of the latter assemblages, one in Kentucky, and the other in Ohio. I shall endeavour to convey some idea of this extraordinary species of religious festival.

To the right of Cheviot, which lies in a westerly direction, about ten miles from Cincinnati, under the shade of tall oak and elm trees, the camp was pitched in a quadrangular form. Three sides were occupied by tents for the congregation, and the fourth by booths for the preachers. A little in advance before the booths was erected a platform for the performing preacher, and at the foot of this, inclosed by forms, was a species of sanctuary, called "the penitents' pen." People of every denomination might be



seen here, allured by various motives. The girls, dressed in all colours of the rain-bow, congregated to display their persons and costumes; the young men came to see the girls, and considered it a sort of "frolic"; and the old women, induced by fanaticism, and other motives, assembled in large numbers, and waited with patience for the proper season of repentance. At the intervals between the "preachments," the young married and unmarried women promenaded around the tents, and their smiling faces formed a striking contrast to the demure countenances of their more experienced sisters, who, according to their age or temperament, descanted on the folly, or condemned the sinfulness of such conduct. Some of those old dames, I was informed, were decoy birds, who shared the profits with the preachers, and attended all the "camp-meetings" in the country.

The psalmodies were performed in the true Yankee style of nasal melody, and at proper and seasonable intervals the preachings were delivered. The preachers managed their tones and discourses admirably, and certainly displayed a good deal of tact in their calling. They use the most extravagant gestures—astounding bellowings—a canting, hypocritical whine—slow and solemn, although by no means musical intonations, and the *et ceteras* that complete the qualifications of a regular camp-meeting Methodist parson. During the exhortations the brothers and sisters are calling out—"Bless God! Glory! Glory! Amen! God grant! Jesus! etc."

At the adjournment for dinner, a knowing-looking gentleman was appointed to deliver an admonition. I admired this person much for the ingenuity he displayed in introducing the subject of collection, and the religious obligation of each and every individual to contribute largely to the support of the preacher and his brothers of the vine-

yard. He set forth the respectability of the community, as evidenced by former contributions, and thence inferred, most logically, that the continuance of that respectable character depended on the amount of that day's collection. A conversation took place behind me, during this part of the preacher's exhortation, between three young farmers, which, as being characteristic, I shall repeat. "The old man is wide awake, I guess." "I reckon he knows a thing or two." "I calculate he's been on board a flat afore now." "Yes, I guess a Yankee'd find it damned hard to sell him hickory nutmegs." "It'd take a pretty smart man to poke it on to a parson anyhow." "I guess'd it'd come to dollars and cents in the end."

After sunset the place was lighted up by beacon fires and candles, and the scene seemed to be changing to one of more deep and awful interest. About nine o'clock the preachers began to rally their forces—the candles were snuffed—fuel was added to the fires—clean straw was shaken in the "penitents' pen"—and every movement "gave dreadful note of preparation." At length the hour was sounded, and the faithful forthwith assembled. A chosen leader commenced to harangue—he bellowed—he roared—he whined—he shouted until he became actually hoarse, and the perspiration rolled down his face. Now, the faithful seemed to take the infection, and as if overcome by their excited feelings, flung themselves headlong on the straw into the penitents' pen—the old dames leading the way. The preachers, to the number of a dozen, gave a loud shout and rushed into the thick of the penitents. A scene now ensued that beggars all description. About twenty women, young and old, were lying in every direction and position, with caps and without caps, screeching, bawling, and kicking in hysterics, and profaning the name of Jesus. The preachers, on their knees amongst them, were with sten-

torian voices exhorting them to call louder and louder on the Lord, until he came upon them; whilst their attachees, with turned-up eyes and smiling countenances, were chanting hymns and shaking hands with the multitude. Some would now and then give a hearty laugh, which is an indication of superior grace, and is called "the holy laugh." The scene altogether was highly entertaining—penitents, parsons, caps, combs, and straw jumbled in one heterogeneous mass, lay heaving on the ground, and formed at this juncture a grouping that might be done justice to by the pencil of Hogarth, or the pen of the author of *Hudibras*; but of which I fear an inferior pen or pencil must fail in conveying an adequate idea.

The women were at length carried off, fainting, by their friends, and the preachers began to prepare for another scene. From the time of those faintings, the "new birth" is dated, which means a spiritual resurrection or revival.

The scene that followed appeared to be a representation of "the Last Supper." The preachers assembled round a table, and acted as disciples, whilst one of them, the leader, presided. The bread was consecrated, divided, and eaten—the wine served much after the same manner. The faithful, brothers and sisters, were now called upon to partake of the Sacrament—proper warning, however, being given to the gentlemen, that when the wine was handed to them they were not to take a drink, as that was quite unnecessary, as a small sup would answer every purpose. One gentleman seemed to have forgotten this hint, and attempted to take rather more than a sup; but he was prevented by the administering preacher snatching the goblet from him with both hands. Many said they were obliged to substitute brandy and water for wine; but for this fact I cannot vouch. Another straw-tumbling scene now began; and, as if by way of variety, the inmates of five or six tents

got up similar scenes among themselves. The preachers left the field to join the tenters; and, if possible, surpassed their previous exhibitions. The women were occasionally making confessions, *pro bono publico*, when sundry "back-slidings" were acknowledged for the edification of the multitude. We left the camp about two o'clock in the morning, when these poor fanatics were still in full cry.

At Hell Town, near this place, there was an officers' muster held about this time. Every citizen exercising the elective franchise is also eligible to serve in the militia. There are two general musters held every year in each county, and several company meetings. Previous to the general muster there is an officers' muster, when the captains and subalterns are put through their exercise by the field officers. At this muster, which I attended, the superior officers in command certainly appeared to be sufficiently conversant with tactics and explained the rationale of each movement in a clear and concise manner; but the captains and subalterns went through their exercise somewhat in the manner of the yeomen of the Green Island. When the gentlemen were placed in line, and attention was commanded, the General turned around to converse with his coadjutors—no sooner had he done this than about twenty heroes squatted à l'Indien; no doubt deeming it more consistent, the day being warm, to sit than stand. On the commander observing these movements, which he seemed to think quite unmilitary, he remonstrated and the warriors arose; but, alas! the just man falls seven times a day, and the militia officers of Hamilton county seemed to think it not derogatory to their characters to squat five or six. The offence was repeated several times, and as often censured. They wheeled into battalions, and out of battalions, in most florid disorder—their straight lines were zig-zag. In marching abreast, they came to a fence next

the road—the tavern opposite, and the temptation too great to be resisted—a number threw down their muskets—tumbled themselves over the fence, and rushed into the bar-room to refresh! An American's heart sickens at restraint, and nothing but necessity will oblige him to observe discipline.

The question naturally arises, how would these forces resist the finely disciplined troops of Europe? The answer is short: If the Americans would consent to fight a "bataille rangee" on one of the prairies of Illinois, undoubtedly the disciplined troops would prevail; but as neither their experience nor inclination is likely to lead them into such circumstances, my opinion is, that send the finest army Europe can produce into this country, in six months the forests, swamps, and deadly rifle, united will annihilate it—and let it be remembered, that at the battle of New Orleans, there were between two and three thousand British killed, and perhaps double that number wounded. In patriotism and personal courage, the Americans are certainly not inferior to the people of any nation.

There had been lately throughout the States a good deal of excitement produced by an attempt, made by the Presbyterians, to stop the mails on the Sabbath. This party is headed by a Doctor Ely, of Philadelphia, a would-be "lord spiritual," and they made this merely as a trial of strength, preparatory to some other measures calculated to lead to a church establishment. Their designs, however, have been detected, and measures accordingly taken to resist them. At a meeting at which I was present at Cincinnati, the people were most enthusiastic, and some very strong resolutions were passed, expressive of their abhorrence of this attempt to violate the constitution of America.

Good farms within about three or four miles of Cincinnati, one-third cleared, are sold at from thirty to fifty dol-

lars per acre. Cows sell at from ten to twenty dollars. Horses, at from twenty-five to seventy-five and one hundred dollars. Sheep from two to three dollars. There are some tolerable flocks of sheep throughout this state, but they are of little value beyond the price of the wool, a most unaccountable antipathy to mutton existing among the inhabitants.

Whilst on the banks of Lake Erie, having heard a great deal of conversations about the "lake fever," I made several inquiries from the inhabitants on that subject, the result of which confirmed me in the opinion, that the shores of the lakes are quite as healthy as any other part of the country, and that here, as elsewhere, the disease arises from stagnant pools, swamps, and masses of decayed animal and vegetable matter, which are allowed to remain and accumulate in the vicinity of settlements. When at New York, I met an old and wealthy farmer, who was himself, although eighty years of age, in the enjoyment of rude health. He informed me that he had resided in Canada, on the shores of Lake Erie, for the last fifty years, and that neither he nor any one of his family had ever been afflicted with fever of any description. The district in which he lived, was entirely free from local nuisances, and the inhabitants he represented as being as healthy as any in the United States.

My observations, so far, lead me to conclude, that this climate agrees fully as well with Europeans as with the natives, indeed that the susceptibility to fever and ague is greater in the natives than in Europeans of good habits. The cause I conceive to be this: the early settlers had to encounter swamps of the most pestilential description, and dense forest through which the sun's rays had never penetrated, and which industry and cultivation have since made in a great measure to disappear. They notoriously suffered

much from the ravages of malaria, and such as survived the baleful effects of this disease, escaped with impaired constitutions. Now this susceptibility to intermittent fever, appears to me to have been transmitted to their descendants, and to act as the predisposing cause. I have seen English and Irish people who have been in the country upwards of thirty years, who look just as you would expect to find persons of their age at home.

[THE END]

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

TO TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA BY M. DE CHASTELLUX.

	Page
Present Publisher's Introduction .....	321
"Advertisement" from French Printer .....	323
Visit to Hartford—Colonel Wadsworth—Vermont...	325
Trip to West Point—Arnold and Andre.....	345
Visit to LaFayette..Totohaw Falls.....	360
Chastellux Meets General Washington—Visits the General's Headquarters, and the Army—Por- trait of Washington .....	366
Through New Jersey—Prince Town—Trenton.....	378
Philadelphia—Mr. Morris..Samuel Adams—The As- sembly—University .....	385
Review of Military Operations Around Philadelphia— On the Battle of Brandywine .....	397
Interview With Samuel Adams—Attends a Ball—The Churches—Germantown .....	404
Review of LaFayette's Operations—President of Con- gress—Dines With Southern Delegates—A Sub- scription Ball—The Academy—Philadelphia— Retrospective .....	414
Again Meets Washington—Trip Through New York— Visits General Schuyler—Albany—General Clinton .....	427
Trip Through Virginia—Williamsburg—General Nel- son—Southern Sports .....	438
Jefferson and Monticello .....	451
Observation on Battle of Cowpens—Blue Ridges— Natural Bridge .....	460



Petersburg—Story of “Pocahunta”—The Randolphs Richmond — Governor Harrison — Southern Loyalty .....	464
Observation on the Virginian Character—Effect of Political Environment—State Characteristics —The Church and the Revolution.....	479
Observation on American Government—The Arts and Sciences .....	485
Journey Into New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Upper Pennsylvania .....	486
Cambridge University—Boston—Bunker Hill and Other Military Observations .....	491
Last Meeting With Washington—Arrival at Phila- delphia .....	500

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

### FERRALL'S RAMBLES OF 6,000 MILES IN THE UNITED STATES.

[NOTE.—The publisher of this volume selected from Ferrall's travels of 6,000 miles, only such parts thereof as tell about a locality and matters not covered by DeWarville and Chastellux.]

Author's Preface .....	504
Note by Present Publisher .....	505
Trip on Lake Erie—Buffalo—Presqu Isle (Erie Pa.) —Sandusky City—Lower Sandusky (Fremont, Ohio)—Upper Sandusky Ohio .....	506
Tour on Foot from Sandusky Ohio to Columbus—The Indian Reservations—A Tragedy .....	506
Huron, Sandusky, Seneca and Crawford Counties in Ohio—Upper Sandusky and Marion Ohio— Columbus .....	510
Stage Trip from Columbus to Cincinnati, Through London, Ohio, Xenia and Lebanon—The "Shak- ing Quakers" .....	518
The Iniquity of Slavery—Cincinnati—A Pioneer Farmer .....	519
A "Husking Bee"—Camp Meeting—Muster Day.....	522

## INDEX TO DE WARVILLE'S TRAVELS

- ADAMS, JOHN, 22, 73.  
 ADAMS, SAMUEL, 74.  
 ADULTERY, laws against, 61.  
 AGRICULTURE, products, 65; societies, 71; farmers, 79; character of stock, 83; fruit, 83; onions, export of, 84; in New York, 95; apples in New York, 97; example of an American farmer, 114; a flouring mill, 115; De Warville attends farmer's Institute. Hessian fly discussed, 144; description of a farm, 149; fences, 152; mildew, 153; richness of Ohio valley, 156; maple sugar, 180; tobacco raising in Virginia, 259; Shenadore valley, 263; price of land, 263; model farm, 268; manufacturing, 275.  
 ALBANY, N. Y., 94.  
 ALEXANDRIA, MD., 253.  
 ALLEGANIES, 280.  
 AMELAND, SAMUEL, noted Quaker, 142.  
 AMERICA, letter on from M. Claviere to Brissot De Warville on political, civil and military state of, 33; second letter on soil, productions, cultivations of, 37; third letter on plan of colony in, 40; fourth letter on French emigration to, 45; fifth letter on land purchases, 47; debt of, 269; Nicaragua canal project, 279; future prospects, 284; duration of commonwealth, 313.  
 AMERICAN PEOPLE, manners of in Boston, 60; in the country, 79; character of, 143; progress, 280.  
 ANDON, MASS., 268.  
 ANIMALS, wild in Ohio valley, 290.  
 APPLES, 83, 90, 97, 268.  
 BALTIMORE, MD., 252.  
 BANK of New York, 106.  
 BEAR, in Ohio valley, 290.  
 BENEZET, ANTHONY, negro champion, 157.  
 BEVERLY, MASS., 266.  
 BOSTON, description of, 59; to New York, from, 76; to New York from by Providence, 89; journey from to Portsmouth, 265.  
 BOWDOIN, GOV., manufacturer of cheese, 65; pres. of academy, 69; rival of Hancock, 75.  
 BRANDYWINE, 250.  
 BREAD, price of in Philadelphia, 147.  
 BREWERIES, 275.  
 BRIDGE toll, Beverly, 266.  
 BRISSOT, Jean Pierre De Warville, his biography, (see introductory) p. 3; preface of translator, 9; preface of author, 13; method of his observations, 49; on federal government, 49; government of states, 50; legislation, 50; commerce, 50; on banks, 51; taxes, 51; federal debt, 52; federal and individual expenses, 52; state of agriculture, etc., 53; private morals, 54; start of his journey to America, 54; arrival at Boston, description of, 59.  
 BRISTOL, PA., 111.  
 BROOKFIELD, MASS., 80.  
 BUCKWHEAT, 150.  
 BUFFALO (probably Green) river, 287.  
 BUFFALO in Ohio valley, 290.  
 BUNKER HILL, 75.  
 BURLING, WM., 159.  
 BURLINGTON, N. J., 111; return to, 112.  
 BUSINESS, revival of after revolution, 194.  
 BUTTER, price of in Philadelphia, 147.  
 CAMBRIDGE, University of, 67; its buildings and library, 67; President Bowdoin, governor, 69.  
 CANAL, Nicaragua, project, 279.

- CAPE AU GRES, 308.  
 CAYAHOGA, 295.  
 CAHOKIA, 306 .  
 CHASTELLUX, M., on American prices, 98; reference to, 148.  
 CHEESE, 65, 275.  
 CHEROKEE, (Tennessee) river, 290.  
 CHESTER, PA., 250.  
 CLAVIERE, M., first letter to M. De Warville, on observations on political, civil and military state of America, 33; second letter, on soil, productions, cultivations, 37; third letter, on plan of colony, 40; fourth letter on French emigration to America, 45; fifth letter, on land purchases, 47; De Warville's observations of, 49.  
 CLERGYMEN, manner of support in Boston, 63.  
 CLINTON, GOV., 100.  
 CLUBS, in Boston, 65.  
 COAL, in Pennsylvania, 276.  
 COD FISHERY, Salem, 266.  
 COFFEE, 273.  
 COMMERCE, renewed activities after revolution, 194; free commerce of tobacco desired, 261; tobacco market with England and Spain, 262; trade in masts, 266; imports, 272; exports, 275; with East Indies, 277; extent of, 278.  
 CONGRESS, visit to, 148; slavery agitation, 178; on internal commerce, 283.  
 CONNECTICUT, 83; growth in, 85.  
 COPPER, 275.  
 CORN, Indian, 114, 150.  
 COTTON, 257; mfg., near Beverly, 266; mfg., 275.  
 COWS, 268.  
 CREVECOUER, M. DE, 60; writings on America, 83; on Rhode Island, 91; on New York, 94; on Dutch settlers, 109; on Warner Mifflin, 116.  
 CRIMES, in Virginia, 258.  
 CUMBERLAND, 280.  
 CURRENCY, tobacco, 259; scarcity causes manipulation, 260; paper money, 270.  
 DEAN, SILAS, 83.  
 DEBT, of U. S., 269.  
 DELAWARE, 276.  
 DETROIT, 311; Detroit river, 311.  
 DISEASE, character of, 99; fevers, 109; of Pennsylvania, 202.  
 DRESS, of Boston people, 61; of country people, 79; in New Haven and Connecticut, 84; extravagance of in New York, 97; further examples of in the country, 114.  
 DRY GOODS, importation, 273.  
 DUER, COL., 104.  
 DURHAM, CONN., 86.  
 EDUCATIONAL, University of Cambridge, 67; at New Haven (Yale), 86; schools for negroes in Philadelphia, 157.  
 ENGLISH PEOPLE, character of, 143.  
 EXPORTS, 275.  
 FAIRFIELD, CONN., 86.  
 FARMER, a true American specimen of, 114; description of, 150; a pioneer example of, 197; progress of, 200; well arranged, 268.  
 FENCES, 152.  
 FINANCIAL, effect of paper money, 90; in Rhode Island, 92; condition in New York, 105; bank of New York, 106; paper money in New Jersey, 109; Temple Franklin on conditions, 112; tobacco money, 259; results of small money scarcity, 260; debt of U. S., 269.  
 FISHERIES, 275; fish in Ohio river, 291.  
 FISHING, men, 287.  
 FITCH, WM., steamboat inventor, 142.  
 FLOUR, 275.  
 FORESTS, description of, 79.  
 FOOD, 65; cost of, 80; in New York, 87; in Philadelphia, market, 146; price of in Philadelphia, 147; in Virginia, 258; kind raised, 275.  
 FORT CHARTRES, 305.  
 FORT DETROIT, 311.  
 FORT MASSIC, 290.  
 FORT NIAGARA, 309.  
 FORT PITT, 286, 288.

FORT QUIATANON, 301.  
 FOX, GEO., 159.  
 FRANKFORD, PA., 111.  
 FRANKLAND, 280.  
 FRANKLIN, BENJ., visit to, 130;  
   sketch of, 131; letter from, 138;  
   on his death, 139; remark on  
   Philadelphia, 146.  
 FRANKLIN, TEMPLE, on Ameri-  
   can conditions, 112.  
 FRUIT, 83, 97, 146, 268.  
 FURS, 275; western trade, 300;  
   Detroit trade, 312.  
 GAMBLING, in Boston, 65; in  
   Virginia, 258.  
 GAME, wild, in Ohio valley, 291.  
 GAZETTES, publication of in  
   Boston, 69; in Philadelphia, 192.  
 GEORGETOWN, 253.  
 GLASS, mfg., in Boston, 66; near  
   Alexandria, 458; mfg., 275.  
 GOVERNMENT, duration of U. S.,  
   313.  
 GRAPES, 268.  
 GREAT KANHAWA, river, 286,  
   296.  
 GRIFFIN, WM., President of Con-  
   gress, 104.  
 GRIFFITHS, M., secretary of ag-  
   ricultural society, 145.  
 HARTFORD, CONN., 81; mfg.,  
   276.  
 HALSTON, 280.  
 HAMILTON, ALEX., 101; descrip-  
   tion of, 102.  
 HANCOCK, JOHN, 74.  
 HAVRE DE GRACE, MD., 251.  
 HAY, price of in Philadelphia,  
   147; crop of, 150.  
 HEATH, GEN., 73.  
 HELL-GATE, 93.  
 HEMP, 275.  
 HOGS, 83.  
 HORSES, in Virginia, 257.  
 HOSPITAL, visit to, 123; for the  
   insane, 123.  
 HUDSON, N. Y., 94.  
 HUMPHREYS, COL., his poems,  
   86.  
 HUTCHINS, CAPT. THOMAS,  
   geographer to congress, verifies  
   description of Ohio valley, 286.  
 ILLINOIS, county, 303; richness  
   of soil, 308.  
 ILLINOIS, river, 303.  
 IMPORTS, 272.  
 INDIANA, 288.  
 INDIAN, tribes, 301, 305.  
 INSURANCE, mutual fire, 196.  
 IRON, 275; on the Ohio, 290.  
 JAY, JOHN, 87, 103.  
 JEFFERSON, THOMAS, 22, 101;  
   on U. S. debt, 269.  
 KASKASKIAS, river, 303.  
 KENTUCKY, 280, 285.  
 KENTUCKY, river, 297.  
 KING, RUFUS, 103.  
 LA FAYETTE, M. DE, 103; mem-  
   ber anti-slavery society, 175;  
   Washington's reference to, 156.  
 LAKE ERIE, fish, 311.  
 LAKES, Superior, Michigan, Erie,  
   Huron, Ontario, 310.  
 LA PRAIRIE DU ROCHER, 305.  
 LAUREL, creek, 286.  
 LAWYERS 72; fees of in New  
   York, 99.  
 LEATHER, 275.  
 LIBRARY, public, at Philadelphia,  
   145.  
 LIME, 152.  
 LINEN, mfg., 115, 152, 266, 275.  
 LITERATURE, of Boston and  
   America, 69; around New  
   Haven, 86; poet Trumbull, 86;  
   public library at Philadelphia,  
   145; Paine and Crawford, 191.  
 LITTLE KANHAWA, river, 287.  
 LONDONBERRY, linen mfg., 266.  
 LONGEVITY, in U. S., 206, 210.  
 LOWER SHAWNEE TOWN, 298.  
 MADISON, JAMES, 101, 179.  
 MANUFACTURING, glass in Bos-  
   ton, 66; salt, paper, nails, 66;  
   distilleries, 66; rivalry between  
   states, 66; home made cloth and  
   linens, 115; a flouring mill, 115;  
   lime, 152; maple sugar indus-  
   try, 180; activity after revolu-  
   tion, 194; glass, 258; cotton,  
   near Beverly, 266; linen, 266;  
   kind of in U. S., 275; spinning  
   machines, 276; paper, 276.  
 MAPLE SUGAR, industry, 180.  
 MARKET, at Philadelphia, 146.  
 MASSACHUSETTS, 76.  
 MARYLAND, observations on,  
   256; cotton cultivation, 257.  
 MAZZEI, MR., 232.  
 MEDICAL, dispensary, free, 195.

- MERCHANTS, of Boston, 59; country merchants, 79; at Newport, 90; merchandize in Philadelphia, 146; failure of French in Philadelphia, 192; dry goods, 272.
- MIAMI, (Maumee) river, 299.
- MIAMI, village, 299.
- MIDDLETOWN, CONN., 83; beauty of, 86.
- MIFLIN, GEN., 103; speaker of house, 148.
- MIFLIN, WARNER, anti-slavery champion, 116, 179.
- MILDEW, 153.
- MINEAMI, river (probably Maumee), 298.
- MINGOTOWN, 289.
- MISSISSIPPI, river, 282, 303.
- MISSOURI, river, 307.
- MOLASSES, 273.
- MONONGAHELA, river, 286.
- MOUNT VERNON, journey to, 250; visit to Gen. Washington, 254.
- MUSEUM, at Philadelphia, 145.
- MUSIC, in Boston, 60; in churches, 84.
- MUSKINGUM, visit of M. Saugrain and M. Pignet to, 155, 280, 295.
- MUSQUITOES, in New Jersey, 109.
- NAILS, 275.
- NEGROES, school for in Philadelphia, 157; their intellectual capacity, 157; general character of in U. S., 169; plan for deportation of, 183.
- NEWARK, N. J., 108.
- NEWBERRY, MASS., 266; ship building at, 267.
- NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., 110.
- NEW HAVEN, CONN., 83; society in, 84; taverns at, 84; university at, 86.
- NEW JERSEY, description of, 110, 276.
- NEW ORLEANS, 284.
- NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, decline of, 90.
- NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., birth-place of John Jay, 87.
- NEW YORK, journey to, 76; second visit, 94; its harbor, 94; its wheat and other markets, 96; cigar smoking, 96; extravagance in dress, 97; living cost, 98; rapid development, 99; society for slavery abolition, 100; journey to Philadelphia from, 106.
- NIAGARA FALLS, 310.
- NICARAGUA, canal project, 279.
- NORTH CAROLINA, opposition to new constitution, 101.
- OHIO COMPANY, 281.
- OHIO, river, 85; specimens in Philadelphia, museum from, 145; visit to valley of by Mr. Saugrain in 1787; visit to Gen. Harmer, 155; richness of soil, 156, 282; description of, 288; salt springs on, lead and iron, 290; pre-historic skeletons found, 290; fish, 291; tributaries, 294.
- OHIO, valley, Thomas Hutchens on, 286; Samuel Wharton on, 292.
- ONIONS, export of, 84.
- PAINE, THOMAS, 191.
- PAPER, manufacturing, 275, 276.
- PAPER MONEY, evils of, 109; discussion of, 112; values, 270.
- PEARS, 268.
- PENN, WM., his first tabernacles, 111, 187; property of descendants taken by government, 196; his maxims, 225.
- PENNSYLVANIA, 164; prosperity of, 194; growth, 195; climate and diseases, 202; coal and steel, 276.
- PHILADELPHIA, journey to, 106; arrival at, 111; public library at, 145; market at, 146; buildings, police, etc., 186; established by Swedes, 187; Quaker opposition to luxury, 190; printers and booksellers, 192; gazettes, 192; failure of French merchants, 192; prisons, 220; breweries, 276; flour exports, 277.
- PHYSICIANS, fees of in New York; in Philadelphia, 209.
- PIGNET, M., killed in exploration of Ohio country, 155.
- PITTSBURG, 155, 260, 288.

- POPE, Mr., inventor of planitium, 70.
- POST VINCENT (Vincennes), 300.
- POTATOES, 83.
- POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., 95.
- POWELL, Mr., president of agricultural society, 145.
- PRE-HISTORIC, skeletons, 290.
- PRESQUILE (Erie, Pa.), 294.
- PRINTING PRESS, at Salem, 265
- PRISONS, 220.
- PRINSTON, N. J., 110.
- PROVIDENCE, R. I., 89; to Newport by packet boat, 90.
- QUAKERS, former persecutions, 62; Penn's first tabernacles at Bristol, 111; Warner Miflin, 116; Quaker funeral, 118; hospital work, 123; Samuel Ameland, 142; Anthony Benezet, 157; George Fox, founder, 159; John Woolman, 160; opposed to luxury, 190; renewal of business activity, 194; private morals and manners, 223; their dress, 227; reproaches of writers, 231; society and principals, 238; attitude on war, 245.
- RELIGIOUS SECTS, their freedom in Boston, 63.
- RICE, 275.
- RICHMOND, VA., 258; tobacco inspection, 260.
- RIVERS, or creeks, tributary to the Ohio—Cenawagy, Bughaloons, French, Licking, Lacomie, Tobys, Moghulburgh, Kitum, Kish Keminetas, Youghiogeny, Beaver, Muskingum, Hockhooking, Great Kanhawa, Tattery, Red, Great Salt Lake, Kentucky, Scioto, Little and Great Mineami (Miami), Wabash, Shawanoe, Tennessee, 294-303.
- RUMSEY, Mr., steamboat inventor, 142.
- RYE, N. Y., 87.
- SALEM, MASS., 265.
- SALT, 273; springs on the Ohio, 290.
- SANDUSKY, river, 298.
- SAUGRAIN, Mr., visit to Ohio valley, 1787, 154; to Louisiana, 156; settles in Scioto, 156.
- SCIOTO COMPANY, 281.
- SCIOTO, river, 297.
- SCIOTO, valley, 156, 280.
- SHEEP, 83, 268.
- SHENADORE, river, 302.
- SHENADORE, valley, 263; price of lands, 263.
- SHIP BUILDING, at Newberry, 267; ship timber, 267, 275.
- SLAVERY, law of in 1788; society for abolition of, 100; proposition of Dr. Thornton, 104; Warner Miflin, frees slaves, 116; schools for negroes in Philadelphia, 157; Anthony Benezet, anti-slavery champion, 157; treaties against by Wm. Burling in, 1718; George Fox educational movement in, 1718, 159; Judge Sewell's work, 159; means used to abolish, 161; laws in different states upon, 164; reference to Gen. Washington, 174; agitation in Congress, 178.
- SMALL POX, 257.
- SOCIETIES, for agriculture, 71; medical, 71; humane, 71; for slavery abolition, 100; for promotion of sciences, 100; agricultural meeting, 144; Hessian fly discussed, 145; anti-slavery, 166; emigrant, 196; Hiberman, 196.
- SOCIETY, manner of, in Boston, 65; table service, 65; men in, 75; conditions of in the country, 79; brilliance at New Haven, 84; Frenchmen and their mistresses, 193.
- SPENCER, MASS., 77.
- SPRINGFIELD, MASS., 81.
- SPRINGHILL, PA., 149.
- SPIRITS, importation of, 273, 274.
- STAGE, opportunities in traveling by, 107.
- STEAMBOAT, trial of, 142.
- STEEL, 275.
- STILES, President of New Haven University, 86.
- ST. GENEVIVE (Missire), 306.
- ST. PHILIPS, 306.
- ST. LOUIS, 306.
- STRATFORD, CONN., 86.
- SUGAR, 273.

SUSQUEHANNA, 251.  
 TAVERN KEEPER, 266.  
 TAXES, 150.  
 TEA, 273.  
 TEMPERANCE, change in habits, 258.  
 TENNESSEE, river, 302.  
 THORNTON, Dr., plan to deport negroes, 183.  
 TIMBER, kind of in Ohio valley, 291.  
 TOBACCO, in Virginia, 259; tobacco money, 259; inspection, 260; use of by Virginians, 261; free commerce is desired, 261; English and Spanish markets, 262; Ohio and Miss., 262; raising, 275.  
 TRACY, WM., trade in masts, 266.  
 TRENTON, N. J., 110.  
 TURNIPS, 200.  
 UNITED STATES, diseases of, 206; longevity, 206; duration of government, 313.  
 UNIVERSITIES, first at Cambridge 1836, 67.  
 VOLTAIRE, 186.  
 VEGETATION, in Ohio valley, 291.  
 VINING, Mrs. 251.  
 VIRGINIA, observations, 256; crimes in, 258; tobacco raising, 259.  
 WABASH, river, 299.  
 WADSWORTH, COL., 82.  
 WASHINGTON, GEN., 74; Warner Mifflin visits, 116; as a slaveholder, 174; visit of M. de Warville, 254; as a farmer, 254; impressions of, 254; his barn and plantation, 255; on La Fayette, 255; inoculates his negroes, 257; on temperance, 258.  
 WASHINGTON, Mrs., 255.  
 WATERTOWN, mfg., 276.  
 WESTERN TERRITORY, 286; Thos. Hutchins verifies description of, 286.  
 WESTERSFIELD, CONN., 83.  
 WESTON, MASS., 77.  
 WHARTON, SAMUEL, on the Ohio valley, 292.  
 WHEAT, New York as a market, 96; farmers' supply of, 115; damaged by Hessian fly, 145; crop of, 150.  
 WHEELING, river, 287.  
 WILBERHAM, MASS., 80.  
 WILD GAME, in Ohio valley, 291.  
 WILMINGTON, 250.  
 WINES, 65; prices in Philadelphia, 148, 151; importations, 273, 274; made from wild grapes, 308.  
 WOOLEN, 275.  
 WOOL, 115.  
 WOOLMAN, JOHN, 160.  
 WOMEN, social standing in Boston, 66; of Connecticut, 84; freedom of in society, 85.  
 WORCESTER, MASS., 77.  
 YALE, university, 86.  
 YOUGHIOGHENY, river, 286.



## INDEX TO CHASTELLUX TRAVELS

- ACADEMY, Chastellux elected member, 423.
- ADAMS, SAMUEL, 389; discussion on matters of state, 404.
- ALBANY, 432.
- ALLEN, ETHAN, 325.
- AMERICANS, language of, 333; new settlements, 334.
- ANDOVER, North and South, 490.
- ANDRE, COL., 358, 359.
- "APALACHIANS," 449.
- ARMAND, COL., 454.
- ARMY, (see military affairs), provisions for, 332; meeting army cattle drivers, 340; doctors of, 344; army huts, 345; prisoners, 345; troop review, 347; foraging party, 350; how provisioned, 363; Washington's forces reviewed, 368; dragons, 370; officers food, 370; Princeton, Trenton and the Delaware passage, 381-384; a desertion incident, 390; operations around Philadelphia, 398; Washington at White-marsh, 412; troops untrained, 418.
- ARNOLD, BENEDICT, reference to, 349, 358, 359; Smith, his accomplice, 360.
- ARNOLD, MRS. BENEDICT, a cousin of, 395.
- ARTILLERY, captured from Burgoyne, 336, 412.
- ARTS AND SCIENCES, in U. S., 485.
- ASSEMBLY, club meeting, 499; card playing stakes not allowed, 500.
- BAND, military, 369.
- BIRD, Mrs., 475.
- BLUE RIDGES, 462.
- BOSTON, 491.
- BOWLING, Mrs. 465.
- BRANDYWINE, visit to battlefield of, 396.
- BUNKER HILL, 492.
- CADWALADER, GEN., duel with Mr. Chase, 419.
- CAMBRIDGE, the university, 491, 497.
- CHURCHES, visit to, 410.
- CLINTON, GOV. GEORGE, 430.
- CLINTON, GEN. JAMES, 435.
- CLINTON, SIR HENRY, capture of Fort Clinton, 355, 492.
- COCK FIGHT, 447.
- COHOES FALLS, 436.
- COLLEGE of William and Mary, 486.
- COLONIES, analyses of, 481.
- CONCORD, 490.
- CONGRESS, hall of, 390.
- CONGRESS, tavern for members, early state lines drawn, 389.
- CONNECTICUT, 325.
- CORNEY, M. De, 327.
- CORNWALLIS, LORD, at Trenton, 382; at Chaddsford, 400, 445; burns booty in Virginia, 465.
- COWPENS, battle of, 460.
- DUMAS, Mr., 326.
- ENGLISH, church, 411.
- FARMINGTON, 331.
- FISH KILL, 343, 429.
- FOOD, supplies for officers, 370.
- FORTS, Putnam, 352; Wallis, 352; Clinton, 355; King's Ferry, 356; Stony Point, 356, 358; Mifflin, 404.
- FRANKLIN, BENJ., note on, 475.
- GREEN, GEN., 462.
- GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, 325.
- GERMANTOWN, 388.
- GOVERNMENT, functions of, 485.
- HANOVER COURT HOUSE, 440.
- HARRINGTON, 336.
- HARRISON, GOV. BENJ., 472.
- HARTFORD, 330.
- HARTFORD FERRY, 325.
- HAVERHILL, 490.
- HEATH, GEN., 347, 350, 354.
- HESSIANS, affairs at Trenton, 384, 402.
- HOG ISLAND, 404.
- HOUSATONICK, river, 339.
- HOWE, GEN. ROBERT, 366, 370, 373.

HOWE, GEN. WM., 400, 412; falls to trap La Fayette, 414.  
 HOWLEY, Mr., Gov. of Georgia, 395.  
 HUNTINGDON, MR., President of Congress, 387.  
 INN KEEPERS, character of, 337.  
 JEFFERSON, THOS., a visit to, 451; analysis of, 452; his deer park, 455; meteorological observations, 457.  
 KING'S FERRY, 356.  
 KING'S-TOWN, 379; Washington at, 383.  
 KNOX, GEN., 366, 368, 374.  
 LA FAYETTE, MARQUIS DE, 358, 360; his quarters, 362; his influence, 369; 392, 395, 396; how wounded, 401; 412, 414, 423, 438.  
 LA LUZERNE, CHEVALIER de, 385, 387, 390; gives a ball, 409; 417, 421.  
 LAURENS, COL., 386.  
 LAUZUN, DUKE de, 326.  
 LEGISLATURE, meeting of Mass., N. H., R. I., and Conn., 326.  
 LEWIS, Mr., 332.  
 LEXINGTON, 489.  
 LITCHFIELD, 336.  
 LITERATURE, Thos. Paine, 419; Mr. Wilson, 421; Washington's favorite books on war, 429.  
 LIVINGSTON, COL., 357, 359.  
 MASSACHUSETTS, 325, 486.  
 MIDDLEBROOK, 429.  
 MIFFLIN, GEN., 385, 392.  
 MILFORD, 339.  
 MILITARY AFFAIRS, (see army) military band, 369; Germantown, 388; military jaunt to Brandywine, Chastellux's version of battle, 396; embarrassing position of Washington, 397; La Fayette and Gen. Wm. Howe, 414; battle of Cowpens, 460; Lexington, 489; Concord, 490.  
 MOCKING BIRD, 439.  
 MONTESQUEIU, MR. de, 326.  
 MONTICELLO, home of Jefferson, 451.  
 MORGAN, GEN., 461.  
 MORRIS, GOV., 385, 387.  
 MOYLAND, COL., 377, 378.  
 MUSIC, 413, 421.  
 NATURAL BRIDGE, 463.  
 NELSON, GOV., 440.  
 NEW HAMPSHIRE, 325; method of assessment for army support, 340, 486.  
 NEW JERSEY, 378.  
 NEWPORT, landing at, 325.  
 NEW WINDSOR, 348.  
 NORTH, (Hudson) river, 346.  
 OFFLY, home of Gen. Nelson, 442.  
 PAINE, THOS., 419.  
 PATRIOTISM, an incident, 390.  
 PENNSYLVANIA, government of, 386; meeting of general assembly, 392; journey into upper territory of, 486.  
 PETERS, Mr., Secretary Board of War, 417.  
 PETERSBURG, 464.  
 PHILADELPHIA, 385; university of, 392; social affairs, 395; views upon, 425.  
 "POCAHUNTA" AND POWHATAN, story of, 466.  
 PRESBYTERIANS, 411.  
 PRESBYTERIANS, Dutch, 364.  
 PRINCETON, university, library, raided by English, 381.  
 PRINCE-TOWN, 379; Washington at, 382.  
 PRISONERS, of war, 345.  
 QUAKERS, 410.  
 RANDOLPH, E. J., 470.  
 REED, JOS., president of the state, 385.  
 RELIGION, previous to revolution, 481.  
 RHODE ISLAND, 326.  
 RICHMOND, VA., 471.  
 SCHUYLER, GEN. PETER, visit to, 432; burning of his house, 437.  
 SETTLEMENTS, view, observations on, 334.  
 SOCIETY, forms observed at a ball, 409; music in, 413; subscription ball, 421.  
 SOUTHERN DELEGATES, Chastellux dines with, 418.  
 STARK, GEN., 347.  
 ST. CLAIR, GEN., 370, 378.  
 STIRLING, LORD, 367, 401.  
 SUBSCRIPTION BALL, 421.  
 TOTOHAW, falls, 364.  
 TOTOHAW, river, 361.

TRENTON, 379; Washington's affair at, 381.

TRUMBULL, GOV., 328.

VERMONT, 325.

VIRGINIANS, their character and patriotism, 473, 479.

VIRGINIA, Chastellux' visit to 438, 441; economic conditions in interior, 450.

WADSWORTH, COL, 326; (see De Warville's Travels, p. 82).

WASHINGTON, CONN., town of, 338.

WASHINGTON, GEN., confidence in Col. Wadsworth, 327; 356, 361; visit of Chastellux to, 366; review of his army, 368; his army diet, 370; Chastellux' "portrait" of, 375; affair at Trenton, 381; at Princeton, 382; at Kingston, 383; passage of the Delaware, 384; portrait in Congress hall, 391; at battle of Brandywine, 397; at Whitemarsh, 412; second meeting with, 427; his favorite books on war, 429; final meeting with, 500.

WASHINGTON, LUND, manager of Gen. Washington's affairs, 478.

WASHINGTON, Mrs., 387.

WAYNE, GEN. ANTHONY, 356, 366, 368, 373, 374, 402.

WEST POINT, 340; expense of construction, 353; who planned by, 354.

WHITEMARSH, 412.

WILLARD, DR., President Cambridge University, 498.

WILLIAMSBURG, 438.

WILSON, Mr., a lawyer, 391.

WINTHROP, GOV., his journal, 328.

WITHERSPOON, DR., President Princeton University, 380.

## INDEX TO FERRALL'S "6000 MILES"

- BUFFALO, N. Y., Indians in, 506.  
 CAMP MEETING, 524.  
 CANAL, 521.  
 CINCINNATI, 518, 521.  
 CLINTON, DE WITT, on Indians, 507.  
 COLUMBUS, OHIO, 516.  
 CRAWFORD COUNTY, OHIO, 507, 510.  
 DELAWARE COUNTY, OHIO, 516.  
 DELAWARE, Indian reservation, 510; treaty with, 511, 514.  
 ERIE, lake, 506.  
 ERIE, PA., (Presque Isle), 506.  
 FRANKLIN COUNTY, OHIO, 516.  
 FRAMERS, of Ohio, 523.  
 HURON COUNTY, OHIO, 510.  
 "HUSKING BEE," 522.  
 INDIANS, lands of, 512.  
 LAKE fever, 530.  
 LAND, offices, 517.  
 LAND, prices, 517; pioneer farm, 520.  
 LEBANON, OHIO, 518.  
 LITTLE SANDUSKY, 511, 516.  
 LOWER SANDUSKY, (Fremont, O.), 507.  
 MARION COUNTY, 516.  
 MARION, OHIO, 516.  
 MIAMI, of the lake, (Maumee river), 514.  
 MILITIA, muster day, 528.  
 OHIO, forest description, 507.  
 ONEID, Indian traveler, 515.  
 OTTAWA INDIANS, treaty with, 513, 514.  
 SANDUSKY CITY, OHIO, (Portland), 506, 510.  
 SENECA COUNTY, OHIO, 507, 510.  
 SENECA, Indian reserve, 509; a tragedy, 509.  
 "SHAKING QUAKERS," 518.  
 SLAVEHOLDERS, their operations, 515, 519.  
 TONAWANTA, 506.  
 TREATIES, Indian, 513, 514.  
 TROLLOPE, Mrs., her bazaar, 521.  
 UPPER SANDUSKY, 510.  
 WOODLANDS, description of, 516.  
 WYANDOT INDIANS, reservation, 507; dress, laws, 508; Jackson's manifesto, 509; reservation, 510.  
 WYANDOT, prairie, 510.  
 XENIA, OHIO, 518.









